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South African Women Seek Unity To Promote Cause of Equal Rights

Coalition wants to make gender equality a fundamental part of new constitution

ROBERT HARBISON – STAFF

JOHANNESBURG: *Women participate in first legal march in December 1990. They are making significant gains in gender equality in the workplace and marriages, and black women will vote for the first time in 1994.*

By John Battersby
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

JOHANNESBURG

THE struggle for women's rights, long overshadowed by the broader struggle against apartheid, has entered a new phase in the run-up to South Africa's first democratic ballot.

South African women of all races are seeking a unified position to ensure that gender equality is enshrined in the new South African constitution.

The government has responded by addressing women's rights in its draft Charter of Fundamental Human Rights and by simultaneously publishing three draft bills, which advance the position of women relating to domestic violence and establish gender equality in the workplace.

"The fact that women constitute 54 percent of eligible voters in the next general election stresses their political clout...," says Professor Ronel Erwee of Pretoria University's Graduate School of Management.

According to Margaret Lessing, director of the independent Women's Bureau in Pretoria, women's rights in South Africa have lagged behind Western countries because of the "inherently chauvinistic tradition" of South African men – both black and white.

"Nevertheless, women have made spectacular advances in this country since the Second World War," Mrs. Lessing told the Monitor.

The Women's Bureau, established in 1980 as a watchdog group to represent some 27 nonpolitical women's groups, has played a key role in formulating and improving the government's draft legislation on women's rights.

"Now political parties are focusing on women's issues more actively than ever before, because

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NAFTA AGREEMENT

Trade-Pact Foes Sound Job Loss, Populist Alarms

Capitol Hill lawmakers cite numerous pitfalls in doing business with Mexico

By John Dillin
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

WASHINGTON

REP. David Bonior of Michigan, the Democratic whip, says the pending free trade agreement between the United States, Mexico, and Canada should be rejected for one major reason: "I don't want American jobs to become our No. 1 export."

Representative Bonior has joined a growing movement on Capitol Hill that is trying to send the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) down to a stunning defeat. A loss by NAFTA later this year, which is now a strong possibility, would humiliate the White House and send shockwaves through the international community.

Critics say the North American Free Trade Agreement pits the interests of multinational corporations against American workers.

Opponents, mostly Democrats, are organizing as the Congressional Anti-NAFTA Caucus. Their priority, they say, is US jobs. But their concerns clearly go much further.

Members talk emotionally of potential damage to the US environment. They speak of toxic threats to the safety of the US food supply. They grumble that Mexico, to which the US would be firmly linked by NAFTA, is no democracy, that labor union rights are abridged there and that corruption is rampant.

The White House has fought back, insisting that NAFTA will create thousands of high-paying US jobs, while reducing Mexico's steep unemployment rate. Tapping low-cost Mexican labor will help US firms survive the growing competition in the world marketplace, officials say.

A strong undercurrent of populism runs through the NAFTA controversy. Critics say the treaty pits the interests of large, multinational corporations against American workers – a confrontation which makes many pro-union Democrats particularly uneasy.

Rep. Bob Filner (D) of California, sounding a populist note, charges: "This agreement, negotiated by former President Bush, is a 'trickle down' treaty. It is designed to benefit big corporations and exploit our resources, both human and environmental. It is free trade for big business. We want fair trade for working Americans."

Similarly, Bonior complains: "The vitality of whole communities are at stake here."

NAFTA "profits basically the elites of both countries," he says. It is "an insult to workers, not only here in America, but in Mexico."

Rep. Peter DeFazio (D) of Oregon denounces NAFTA as "anti-worker, anti-consumer, anti-environment, anti-USA." He says: "The government of Mexico is going to spend in conjunction with the multinational corporations ... probably $100 million to sell this plan to the United States Congress. [But] the American people don't support this agreement."

Pro-NAFTA forces are taken aback. Some admit the treaty is in trouble, particularly in the House, though administration officials still insist it will pass.

First, however, the White House must ease several concerns about the treaty. Among the most serious:

Job loss. Under NAFTA, cars built in Mexico will enter the US

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ED GRAZDA

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RACISM CHARGES TAINT CANADIAN PEACEKEEPERS

TORONTO

■ The performance of the elite Canadian Airborne Regiment in Somalia is being overshadowed by allegations that racism may have played a role in the deaths of four civilians.

The deaths, and charges that some members of the regiment may belong to white supremacist organizations, also have become a political football as national election time draws near.

Four Somalis have died in Canadian custody in the past three months. In two cases, officers on the spot determined there was no wrongdoing. Investigations have been launched in the other two.

Defense Minister Kim Campbell has ordered an inquiry. The political opposition has seized the issue to attack Ms. Campbell, who is in the midst of a campaign for the leadership of the Progressive Conservative Party. Opposition politicians accused her of a coverup, of mishandling the situation, and of withholding information.

The military called the racism charges "speculative, unsubstantiated, and inflammatory." The board of inquiry was asked to submit its findings by July 30.

KOREANS CLASH ON KWANGJU ANNIVERSARY

SEOUL

■ Riot police battled thousands of students May 18 as they tried to march on the homes of two former presidents to demand a probe into a 1980 military crackdown that claimed about 200 lives.

The protest marked the anniversary of the crackdown in the southern city of Kwangju, and the students were demanding that former Presidents Chun Doo Hwan and Roh Tae Woo be punished.

The students say the former presidents ordered soldiers to shoot civilians. Both Mr. Chun and Mr. Roh, who were among generals who seized power in a December 1979 coup, have denied direct involvement in the crackdown.

The coup triggered nationwide protests that lasted for months, leading to a 10-day uprising in Kwangju, a provincial capital.

The May 18 fighting raged for more than an hour and was the most violent student-police confrontation in Seoul since President Kim Young Sam took office in February. At least two dozen students were injured.

President Kim has appealed to South Koreans to forgive the two former presidents.

– Associated Press

INTERNATIONAL

For US, Time to Listen on Bosnia

Washington eases talk of airstrikes, intensifies phone diplomacy in bid to reach consensus

By Peter Grier
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

WASHINGTON

THE Clinton administration appears to be back at Square 1 as it tries to find some way, any way, to curb fighting in the former Yugoslavia.

Weeks of steadily escalating rhetoric about more forceful measures, such as United States airstrikes, have come to nothing in the face of continued opposition by European allies. Yet Europe's preferred alternative – the diplomatic track of the so-called Vance-Owen peace plan – appears untenable after rejection of the plan by Bosnian Serbs.

US officials no longer talk up the possibility of airstrikes as readily as they once did, though they continue to insist all options are on the table. They appear willing to step back a bit and let Europe take the lead on trying to hammer together a policy.

"It seems that our allies have particular ideas of their own that they want to pursue at the present time," Secretary of State Warren Christopher said on May 17. "We'll be discussing with them their approaches to this matter, which seems to get more difficult every time you look at it."

One choice pushed by the French would be to protect "safe havens" in Bosnia from Serb attack. This would be an expansion of existing United Nations efforts to shield Muslim refugees. US officials have been cool to French requests for US ground troops to help police these protected zones, although use of American air power in this context has not been ruled out.

REUTERS

BRCKO, BOSNIA: *Bosnian Serb soldiers pose with a Muslim forces flag captured in recent fighting near the northern Bosnian town of Brcko during the second day of referendum voting on the Vance-Owen peace plan.*

THE US has at least considered sending troops to the former Yugoslav republic of Macedonia, to prevent Bosnia's problems from spreading there. But some 700 UN troops are already in place in Macedonia, and the UN has not called for any larger contingents.

Placing UN guards along the border between Serbia and Bosnia is another option. These guards would help staunch the flow of arms and fuel to Bosnian Serbs. Serb leader Slobodan Milosevic has promised to cut off supplies to his erstwhile Bosnian allies, but this embargo appears less than total.

In some spots "supplies and vehicles are still getting through," said State Department spokesman Richard Boucher on May 17.

A Russian call for a Security Council meeting at the UN May 21 to discuss peacekeeping efforts in general was quickly rejected by the US this week. The stated reason was reluctance to discuss peacekeeping costs while Congress is debating next year's budget.

Beyond interim steps there are two clear choices now for ending the Bosnian fighting, writes former Washington Post correspondent Dusko Doder in the current issue of Foreign Policy magazine. One is to recognize the reality on the ground and divide Bosnia between Serbia and Croatia. The other is to impose a UN protectorate on the embattled former Yugoslav republic.

The first option, Mr. Doder writes, is repugnant. The second is excruciatingly difficult – "yet no alternatives are apparent," according to Doder.

Russia's Kozyrev on Tour to Push Bosnia Plan

By Justin Burke
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

MOSCOW

RUSSIAN Foreign Minister Andrei Kozyrev is plowing ahead with a hastily arranged foreign tour, hoping to contain fighting in Bosnia-Herzegovina after the apparent collapse of an internationally-brokered Yugoslav peace settlement.

Mr. Kozyrev, following a May 17 stopover in Germany, visited the Croatian city of Split May 18 for talks with Croatian and Bosnian leaders. He also was to travel to Belgrade for discussions with Serb leaders.

On May 20 Kozyrev is scheduled to arrive in the United States for talks on the Yugoslav situation with US officials. Russian officials were expected to announce on May 18 that a UN Security Council session set for May 21 on peace efforts would be postponed, according to a US official. The US had said it would not attend.

Kozyrev still hopes to implement the plan negotiated by Cyrus Vance and Lord David Owen to end the fighting in Bosnia, even though the program seemed dead after Bosnian Serbs rejected it. Their vote was labeled a sham by Western leaders.

"We won't let a few militants and warlords stop the international community from extinguishing the war in Bosnia," the Russian foreign minister said before discussions with his German counterpart Klaus Kinkel.

Mr. Kinkel endorsed Kozyrev's plan, which includes the total implementation of UN sanctions, a seal-off of Bosnia's border with Serbia, the creation of safe havens within Bosnia, and the establishment of a war crimes court.

With the Bosnian Serbs' rejection of Vance-Owen, the fighting in Bosnia is once again starting to rage. Renewed hostilities – particularly if Muslims and Bosnian Serbs resume their bitter, all-out struggle – could spark a chain of events that Russia is desperate to avoid, especially Western military intervention. US officials have raised the possibility of arming Muslims and airstrikes against Bosnian Serbs.

Such actions would put President Boris Yeltsin's reform-minded government in a bind. Russia has supported UN peace efforts to date, despite criticism from Russian nationalists that Moscow is betraying its traditional ally, Serbia.

UN military action against Bosnian Serbs would undoubtedly cause nationalist sentiment in Russia to flare, making it difficult for Mr. Yeltsin to proceed with Western-oriented market reforms at home.

For their part, Western nations at the moment are reluctant to use force against Serbs. They seem ready to give Russia the chance to use its traditional influence over Serbia in a last-ditch attempt to salvage Vance-Owen, and thus avoid difficult decisions on military action.

Some Russian foreign policy analysts, however, give Kozyrev's efforts little chance of success.

"Attempts to enforce a plan that's been rejected by a majority of the Bosnian Serb population won't have success," says Nikolai Kolikov of Moscow's Mikhail Gorbachev Foundation.

The capture of another alleged leader of 'Cosa Nostra' follows a ruinous blast in Rome aimed at a crusading journalist

Italy Again Hits Mafia Amid Signs of a Backlash

By Richard Wentworth
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

ROME

THE Italian state has won another victory against its criminal organizations, just days after a devastating bomb attack in Rome and days before the first anniversary of the murder of popular anti-Mafia judge Giovanni Falcone.

Nitto Santapaola, the reputed boss of the Mafia in Catania, was arrested in a May 18 dawn raid in Mazzarone, Sicily, after more than 10 years in hiding.

Mafia experts identify him as second only to Salvatore Riina in "Cosa Nostra." Mr. Riina, the reputed "boss of bosses" in Palermo, was arrested on Jan. 15.

"It's another hard blow to the Mafia, but it's necessary to continue," Interior Minister Nicola Mancino said after the arrest.

In addition to commenting on the arrest of Mr. Santapaola, Mr. Mancino delivered an official report to Parliament May 18 on the powerful May 14 car-bomb explosion in the fashionable Parioli section of Rome, which was heard more than a mile away.

No one killed

At least 50 cars and nearly 40 apartments were damaged in the Via Ruggero Fauro blast, but no one was killed and injuries were relatively minor.

"I thought it was a storm," says Ricardo Carretero, a Spanish psychiatrist and seven-year resident of Rome. He says the windows of his Parioli apartment shook, but that he did not hear the blast, probably because of a hill between his apartment and the blast site.

"The attacks are very dangerous right now," added Mr. Carretero, who hailed the news of Santapaola's arrest. "The Mafia is crumbling; they're desperate."

Mancino told Parliament that the apparent object of the Via Ruggero Fauro blast was Maurizio Costanzo, the host of a popular late-night talk show, which is taped in a theater near the scene of devastation.

Mr. Costanzo's car passed an explosive-laden Fiat Uno just a few seconds before the blast; had his car gone by five seconds later, the television personality would have been hit. Members of Costanzo's escort were injured.

Police artists have created sketches of two men driven to Parioli by a taxi driver, seen by residents in the area before the blast, and later seen again by the taxi driver at Rome's central railway station. The men had Sicilian accents, the taxi driver said.

Costanzo has crusaded against Cosa Nostra on his program and in columns written for various newspapers and magazines. He was preparing a live program, together with talk show host Michele Santoro, commemorating Judge Falcone to be aired May 20. The two men did a similar, successful anti-Mafia program more than a year ago.

REUTERS

'BOSS OF BOSSES': *Reputed Mafia chief Salvatore Riina, shown here after his Jan. 15 arrest, is said to have met with an Italian premier.*

The arrest of Santapaola follows a bad day in court for Riina. In a bunker in Rome's Rebibbia prison on May 13, he had face-to-face meetings with two of his ex-Mafia accusers, Gaspare Mutolo and Giuseppe Marchese.

State's evidence

The Mafia penitents gave apparently credible and detailed testimony, for which Riina seemed less than adequately prepared.

At one point Riina responded, "How shall I call you: Mutolo, Mr. Mutolo, little Gaspare.... I have known you since you were a child, when you were going in and out of jail. Why are you doing these things now? Why don't you go back to being that good boy, that good person that you used to be?"

The same day Parliament approved lifting the immunity from prosecution of Senator-for-life Giulio Andreotti, a seven-time prime minister. Mr. Andreotti is accused by various Mafia penitents of having close links with the Mafia.

Baldassare Di Maggio, Riina's ex-driver and bodyguard, says he personally accompanied Riina to a Sicilian meeting with Andreotti, the late Christian Democrat politician Salvo Lima, and Mafia businessman Ignazio Salvo, at which, Mr. Di Maggio alleges, Riina and Andreotti greeted each other with a kiss.

Other Mafia penitents allege that there were two more meetings in Sicily between Andreotti and leaders of Cosa Nostra, that Andreotti was – in mob jargon – the Mafia's "point of reference" in Rome to whom the organization turned when things weren't going its way politically, and that Cosa Nostra carried out assassinations as favors to Andreotti. Andreotti has vigorously denied the charges against him.

At first the former premier strenuously objected to the waiving of his immunity, arguing that he was the victim of persecution, but in the end he requested that his immunity be lifted and that the trial begin as quickly as possible.

EARTH SUMMIT REDUX

A Year After Rio, North and South Still Debate Priorities

By Robert M. Press
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

NAIROBI, KENYA

ONE year ago, the leaders of some 106 nations gathered in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, and committed themselves to taking action on environmental issues around the globe.

But in the first post-Rio global environmental summit, the Nairobi-based United Nations Environment Program (UNEP), which was designated to lead the implementation of the Rio promises, is short on funds and caught in a North-South debate over priorities.

"People have a lot of good words for the environment, but in the end they don't pay for it," says Sabina Voogd, an observer from the private environmental group Greenpeace, at the meeting of the Governing Council of the UNEP.

The Rio summit outlined four primary global environmental concerns: climate, bio-diversity, deforestation, and desertification. Representatives of developing nations, however, say these priorities reflect the concerns of wealthier states.

At the Nairobi conference, which runs from May 10 to May 21, the Group of 77, comprised of developing nations, proposed reshaping UNEP spending priorities to give more attention to freshwater resources, housing, and poverty reduction. The proposal also calls for zero funding for protection of the atmosphere, currently the major UNEP budget item. Wealthier nations, concerned over depletion of the ozone layer, strongly opposed the proposal.

But the issue of where to spend the funds is frustrated by the lack of adequate pledges, according to delegates at the conference here. Despite the abundance of promises at Rio to begin addressing environmental problems, UNEP's funding this year is no more than last year, about $65 million.

After accounting for inflation, that means the agency's funding "is more or less at the same value as 1976," says a UNEP financial official here.

Even the funding target UNEP officials had planned for this year, $120 million, is "peanuts," says Bakary Kante, director of environment for the government of the West African state of Senegal.

"I have the feeling they [donors] are going back [on] some commitments at Rio," Mr. Kante said at the UNEP meeting here.

Next week, for example, in Beijing, World Bank, UN, and donor officials will meet to discuss plans for using a pre-Rio fund of World Bank grants known as the Global Environment Facility (GEF). The $1.3 billion reportedly already pledged to the GEF from the developed world dwarfs the money UNEP has been getting.

But turning to the GEF means the developed nations will determine how the money is spent, notes Canadian Bob Munro, a private environmental consultant to African governments. "The North is trying to set the agenda for the South," he says.

Michael Howard, Britain's secretary of state for the environment, is more direct: "The people who are contributing the money are going to have the final say." He adds, however, that dialogue between developed and developing nations – is improving. He cited his recent meeting on environmental priorities with Kamal Nath, India's minister for environment and forests.

Donors from the developed countries are correct when they say they are making additional funds available for global environmental problems, says Vincente Sanchez, a Chilean delegate to the UNEP meeting.

"The catch is that all this [GEF] funding is for problems important to the developed countries, such as oceans, climate, and bio-diversity. We do not have [additional funds] for issues important to developing countries," he says.

Mr. Sanchez admits the Group of 77's zero figure on climate spending is "absurd," but he adds, "we're trying to make a point." The point is that the GEF, which already has $400 million earmarked for protection of the atmosphere, should be the major funder of such programs, not UNEP, he explains.

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they want the votes of women – particularly black women who will be voting for the first time – in the first democratic election," she says.

In the past, the struggle for women's rights has been divided along racial lines, and anti-apartheid women's groups have tended to pursue broader political goals at the expense of promoting women's interests within their parties or groups.

"It is difficult for South African women to talk only about women's issues. The issue of race is always there," says Glenda Simms, President of the Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women and a participant in a recent conference on gender equality convened here by the Women's National Coalition (WNC) and the Washington-based Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law.

The WNC, a national umbrella body bringing together some 54 women's groups nationwide, was established in April 1992. The WNC conference May 7-9 illustrated that black women activists are reluctant to part company with their political groups as the vehicle for pursuing women's interests.

Three draft bills

Some delegates at the conference, which was not empowered to take binding decisions, backed a call on government to withdraw the three draft bills on women's rights because there had been inadequate consultation with the women and no acknowledgment of the WNC. But most groups represented at the conference appeared to favor passing the bills once improvements are made.

The conference also discussed mechanisms to implement constitutional provisions enshrining women's rights.

Details have not been finalized, but several proposals were made for gender advisory councils to coordinate women's interests in various ministries..

"Women's organizations, whether in the church, politics, or the workplace, have tended to see themselves as agents of other people's interests – social agents – but rarely agents of their own interests as people and as women," says Mamphela Ramphele, a medical doctor and deputy vice chancellor of the University of Cape Town, in an opening address to the WNC conference.

"It is my considered opinion that a vibrant women's movement is not in evidence in South Africa," said Dr. Ramphele. "The Women's National Coalition is the first such an effort."

The issue of political independence was raised during one of the workshops held at the conference that was exploring mechanisms for ensuring that constitutional commitments to equality were carried through.

During the discussion, Ms. Simms advised delegates to make sure that enforcement agencies were staffed by women without party political affiliations.

"Women committed to women's issues are always better than a party hack," she said.

This proved to be a challenging assertion at a conference where most women had become involved in women's issues as a result of their political involvement.

Party shackles rejected

"I have not yet achieved clarity in my own mind regarding the need for the women's movement to be nonpolitical," said Nomzizwe Madlala, whose involvement with the black consciousness philosophy in the early 1980s helped her find her identity and deal with whites as equals. "I would not allow my party to shackle me in the striving for the emancipation of women, but I am not saying that we cannot work together," she said.

Black women have borne the brunt of suffering under the apartheid system and the added legacy of traditional African customs and laws which assume the subservient role of women.

Most prominent of these practices are polygamy and the system of *lobola*, whereby the parents of the prospective husband must pay a dowry to the bride's parents.

In terms of traditional law, African women are subject to the guardianship of their customary law husbands (as many as 50 percent of rural African marriages are customary – civil, not legal), which places them in a position of perpetual tutelage.

"African women are still in the position of having to strive for formal equality within the system of customary law," Professor June Sinclair, deputy Vice-Chancellor of Witwatersrand University said.

Many black women are also reluctant to confront these traditional practices. But there is a growing awareness that they are fundamental to the emancipation of African women.

"We need to identify which cultural practices are obstacles to the emancipation of women," Ms. Madlala said.

"We certainly have to be aware of the patriarchal nature of traditional society, but I don't think you can sweep aside everything that is traditional," said Madlala, a married mother of two whose political involvement in the liberation struggle led her to the women's movement.

White women have fought a protracted battle against sex discrimination and have been largely successful in achieving formal equality.

But they are poorly represented in some key professional sectors, and some women's groups advocate affirmative action in the form of a quota system.

"I don't believe in the quota system," said Helen Suzman, the veteran civil rights campaigner who was the lone voice of the liberal Progressive Party in the whites-only Parliament for more than a decade.

Mrs. Suzman, an active participant at the conference, advocated direct participation for women in top government decisionmaking bodies as the most effective means of sustaining pressure for gender equality.

Black women, who have expended much of their energy trying to hold together families broken apart by apartheid practices, like migrant labor and forced relocations, have made impressive headway in the economic sector.

They account for 26 percent of black managers compared with white women who constitute 19 percent of white managers.

Women make up 41 percent of the economically active population, but earn on average only 70 percent of men's earnings.

Although women account for 54 percent of the South African population, their representation in political decisionmaking, national forums, and negotiations for a democratic settlement in South Africa is usually under 10 percent.

Few women in power

There is only one woman in the ruling National Party Cabinet, and for decades there were none at all. There are only a handful of women in the white-dominated Parliament in Cape Town.

There is only one woman in the National Working Committee of the African National Congress (ANC) and none among the six national office bearers. There are only 12 women in the ANC's 88-person executive committee.

But the major challenge for South African women in the years ahead will be eliminating the legacy of apartheid.

"It will require much communication and contact to bring back the self-respect that has been taken away from black women so that they will be able to see white women as their equals," said Madlala.

WOMEN'S RIGHTS IN SOUTH AFRICA

1929: White women win right to vote.

1941: Women allowed full membership in African National Congress.

1955: ANC Freedom Charter reflects commitment to non-sexist thinking.

1956: March in Pretoria by 20,000 women against pass laws.

1979: Divorce Act strengthens women's rights in marriage.

1980: Women's Bureau created as independent watchdog group.

1984: Matrimonial Property Act gives equal legal and economic status in marriage to white, Asian, mixed race women; 1988 amendment gives same to black women.

1990: ANC executive acknowledges the need for women to be represented in leadership and decisionmaking bodies. Legislation grants the right to maintenance on the death of a spouse.

1992: Women's National Coalition formed. Legislation abolishes rule that a married woman follows domicile of her husband.

1993: Government, ANC, Inkatha Freedom Party, and Democratic Party publish draft bills of rights enshrining gender equality.

1994: First democratic ballot scheduled. Black women will vote for the first time.

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duty-free. But cars built in the US, and exported to Mexico, must pay duty for another 10 years.

"It's not just autos," Bonior says. "It's steel, it's textiles, it's apparel. We will lose up to 40 percent of our jobs in those industries – good manufacturing jobs, high-paying jobs that could be lost to Mexico if this agreement goes into effect."

Environment. Mr. Clinton hopes to ease some concerns about Mexico's serious environmental problems with a special side agreement. Critics are not impressed. Rep. Helen Delich Bentley (R) of Maryland recently traveled to Mexico for a firsthand look, and reports: "If a picture is worth 1,000 words, then on-site inspection is worth 1,000 preconceived notions. Mexico has many more problems than I ever perceived.... The environmental pollution [along the Texas border] is all beyond belief, and in my mind, insoluble in the near term."

Mexican workers. Critics say foreign companies already operating in Mexico often exploit workers. Rep. Nydia Velazquez (D) of New York, after a visit to US-owned factories along the border, reports: "We witnessed families living in cardboard houses with no electricity or running water, where children play in fields of toxic wastes.... The environmental disaster created by the dumping of toxic waste [by the factories] is an indicator of things to come under NAFTA."

Food safety. Opponents say food grown in Mexico could threaten US consumers because of unsanitary growing conditions, including sewage-tainted irrigation water and unsafe pesticides.

Representative DeFazio says: "Under this agreement, many [rules] that we consider essential to our health and safety, like not drinking coffee laced with DDT, would be considered to be unfair trade barriers...." That is, the US might not be allowed to keep out certain products, even if they violated US laws.

Lower US wages. Under this agreement, US workers would be "in constant fear of losing their jobs," Representative Velazquez says. "Never before have three countries with such disparate standards of living proposed economic integration."

Rep. Bernard Sanders of Vermont, the only independent in the House, explains: "What the free trade agreement with Mexico is about is asking American workers who make 10 bucks an hour...[to] compete against desperate people in Mexico who are working for a buck an hour.... Corporations in America are saying to American workers, 'Why should we pay you a living wage when we have desperate people...who will work for almost nothing?' "

■ *Tomorrow: NAFTA's job-creating potential.*

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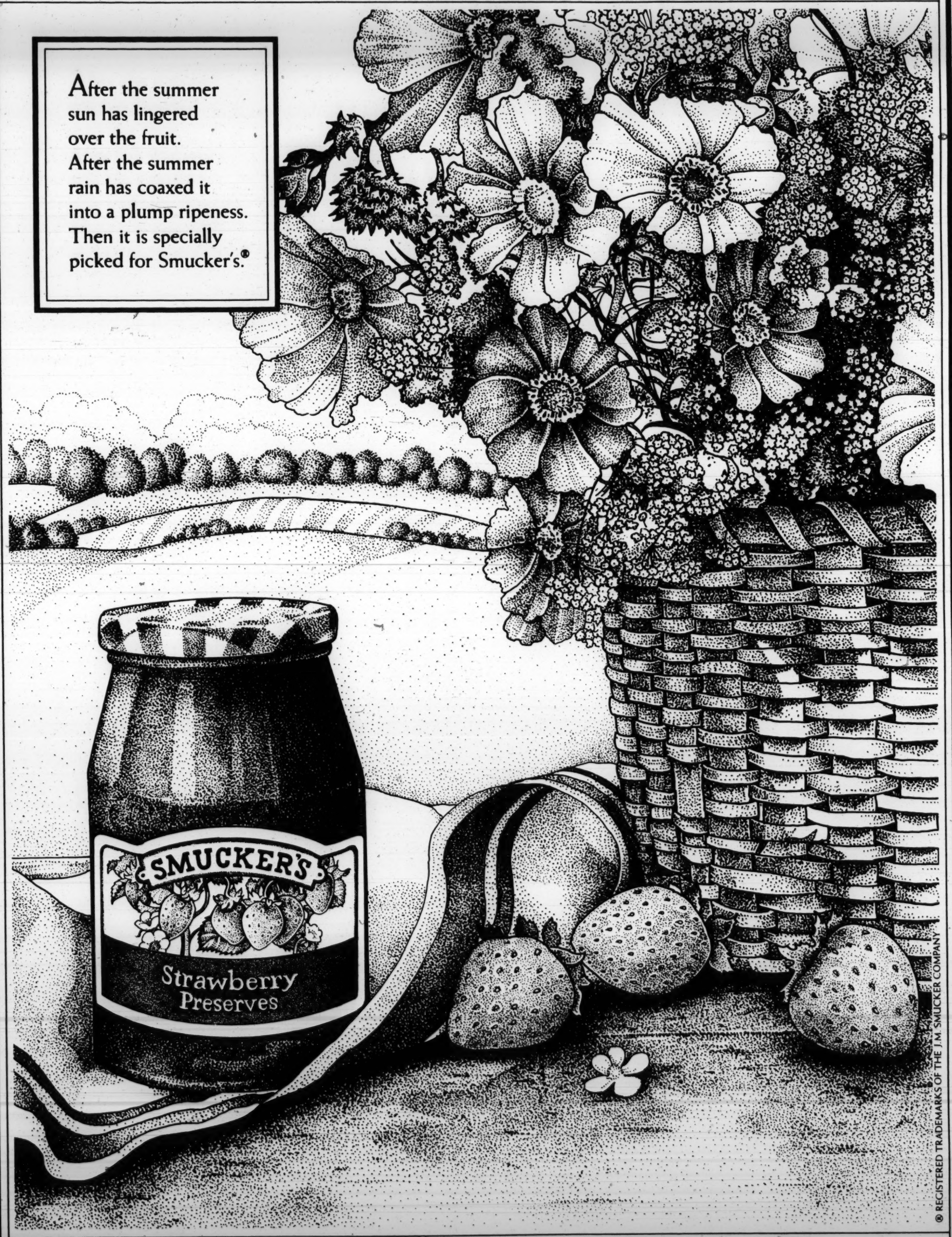

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NATIONAL

Town Meetings Renew Focus On Economy

TELEVISED "town meetings" were popularized by Richard Nixon during his 1968 presidential campaign. The carefully orchestrated gatherings, in which candidate Nixon met with hand-picked citizens who would lob softball questions at him, helped him to win the White House that year.

Bill Clinton has eagerly embraced the town meeting, both during the campaign and during his presidency, but his gatherings haven't gone quite as smoothly as Mr. Nixon's. On May 17, for example, President Clinton attended a televised meeting in San Diego where most of the questioners were generally supportive, but some threw hardballs his way.

Lorne Fleming, a self-employed businessman, told the president a "malaise" was beginning to settle into the region and that Clinton's middle-class tax cut had vanished only to lead to "an unprecedented round of new taxes and new spending" that Californians could not afford.

Other questioners were laid-off defense workers and wanted to know how and when they could go back to work. One woman asked Clinton why her tax dollars were helping pay for health care for illegal immigrants.

But the president had no trouble answering even the tough questions, and his advisers were just happy to see that only one audience member brought up the crisis in Bosnia.

The White House aides seem to figure that a renewed focus on the economy – even with a tinge of criticism – would help the president sell his budget plan.

Much ado about the do

Tout le monde, it seems, is buzzing about the top issue in Washington. No, not Bosnia. Hillary Rodham Clinton's new hairdo.

She returned to Washington from a weekend trip to New York with her formerly shoulder-length hair cut to just below her ears. The new style is layered on the sides, slightly tousled and swept away from her face.

"I know it's been on all of your minds," Mrs. Clinton told a commencement crowd of nearly 30,000 on May 17 at the University of Pennsylvania. "It is after all the No. 1 issue. I had a friend call me from Japan" after seeing her on TV, the first lady said dryly.

"I told him the truth, that when the president called for sacrifice and asked everybody at the White House to give him a 25 percent cut, I decided to go for a 50 percent cut and do my part."

– Compiled by Max Boot

Analysts say new women, minority judges will have most impact on changing areas of law, such as sexual harassment, abuse of women

With Diversity Pledge, President May Give New Look to US Courts

By Barbara Bradley
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

WASHINGTON

WALK into any federal court, and the likelihood of seeing a white male at the bench is 8 in 10. Only 10 percent of federal judgeships are held by women; only 9 percent are occupied by blacks and Hispanics.

But if President Clinton's campaign speeches – in which he pledged to make "diversity" a key criterion in court appointments – are any indication, the days of the old-boy benches are numbered. The president has an unprecedented opportunity to overhaul the look of the federal bench – and, possibly, the nature of the opinions handed down.

RECASTING GOVERNMENT

Mr. Clinton is the first Democratic president to appoint a justice to the United States Supreme Court in 25 years. And he is said to be considering a number of women and minorities – including Judge Ruth Bader Ginsburg of the District of Columbia appeals court and US District Court Judge Jose Cabranes of Connecticut – to fill the seat being vacated by Justice Byron White, a white male.

The president's impact on the federal bench – which, though lower profile, issues far more opinions – will be even more pronounced: There are a record 121 vacancies in the federal courts, about 1 of 7 seats on the bench.

Now that the president is poised to translate his "diversity" philosophy into Supreme Court and federal court appointments, many legal scholars are trying to figure out what diversity in the courts will actually mean. Will sex and gender change the way the law is interpreted? Do female judges write different opinions from men on, say, sex discrimination issues? Do black or Hispanic judges tend to rule in favor of plaintiffs in civil rights cases?

"It will be more egalitarian," predicts Joan Dempsey Klein, presiding judge of California's Second District Court of Appeals. "It will be more open. There will be more questions about some of the old standards that have been accepted over the years."

But conservative critics say that diversity means putting a liberal political bias in the courtroom. "The easiest way for the administration to get its political agenda through is through appointments to the courts," says Marianne Lombardi of the conservative Free Congress Foundation in Washington. Ms. Lombardi adds that in making gender and race an unspoken qualification, the administration is "cutting itself out" of some of the most experienced candidates – white males.

Surprisingly few studies have looked at how race or gender affects the outcome of rulings. The few studies on judicial opinions tend to concentrate on party affiliation – and even those suggest that decisions by women and minorities do not radically differ from those of white men.

"A good judge is a good judge, and generally race or gender doesn't make any difference," says Elaine Martin, a political scientist at Eastern Michigan University. "But on the cutting edge of the law, where things are changing, it's more uncertain, then I think you'll see that when women or minorities are present, there's a different perspective."

Professor Martin came to that conclusion after surveying 1,200 state and local judges – half men, half women. She asked them how they would decide five hypothetical court cases that involved women's rights: maternity leave, teenage abortion, divorce settlements for "homemakers," sexual harassment, and damages for battered women.

Differences on harassment

In cases involving battered women – where the law is being transformed – 65 percent of female judges ruled in the woman's favor, versus 44 percent of the men. On teen abortion and sexual harassment, there was a 14 percent gap. And in more familiar legal territory – divorce settlements and maternity leave – male and female judges were equally likely to rule in the woman's favor (more than 85 percent for the woman).

What the statistics don't capture, says Judge Klein in California, is the growing influence of women as they attain higher positions. At the lower court level, judges have little latitude, and tend to make their decisions based on precedent. But as women move up the judicial ladder, she says, they begin to bring their own experiences as women to the bench.

"And by the time a woman reaches the [state] Supreme Court, or the courts of appeal, where I sit, they have much more self-confidence about what they can do," Klein says, adding that her two male colleagues on the bench regard her as their "conscience." "A woman feels that this is the end of my career, and so I'm going to make the most of it. I'm going to have as much impact on this judicial system as I possibly can."

When it comes to minority judges, even less research has been done. But James Graves, a black circuit court judge in Mississippi, says race is always a factor when he puts on his robes.

For example, Judge Graves says magistrates often give a lighter sentence to a defendant who has a support system that can help him or her rehabilitate. Graves says often a white teenager will be accompanied by his mother and perhaps a church pastor at his sentencing hearing. However, a black juvenile will often come alone – not because he doesn't have a family, but because the mother can't take time from work. And that, Graves says, is something a white judge might not think about.

"Nobody wants to make excuses for criminal defendants, but what everybody ought to desire is a system that says, if a white man steals a car and gets five years for it, then a black man who steals a car ought to get five years for it," Graves observes. "And I think having African American judges in the judiciary brings a certain sensitivity and a sense of how devastating injustice can be."

Changing courtroom atmosphere

It is a sensitivity, says Robert McDuff, a criminal defense and civil rights attorney in Jackson, Miss., that is beginning to affect not just opinions and sentences, but the tone of the courtroom. In the South in particular, white judges historically have presided over predominantly black districts, creating an ambience in which not just black defendants, but some witnesses and jurors had the feeling that the system was stacked against them, Mr. McDuff says.

"When you walk into a courtroom day after day, and the judge is white, in the midst of a multiracial society, you're gonna get a sense that something's wrong here, something's unfair," McDuff says.

If President Clinton follows through by increasing the number of black and Hispanic judges, he says, "that sense of injustice will undoubtedly lessen."

WOMEN, BLACKS LOSE GROUND

According to statistics compiled by the Alliance for Justice, a liberal lobbying group in Washington:

- The number of black US judges fell between 1981 and 1992, from 49 to 43.
- Whereas President Carter appointed 40 women in his four years in office, President Reagan appointed 31 in his eight years, and President Bush appointed 36 during his one term.

But President Reagan appointed the first female justice to the Supreme Court, Sandra Day O'Connor, and President Bush appointed the second black justice, Clarence Thomas.

– B. B.

States Crack Down on 'Stalking'

High-profile cases, including a shooting at a California post office, lead to new laws

By Scott Armstrong
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

LOS ANGELES

IN Washington, D.C., the wife of a United States senator held a congressional committee spellbound in March with a harrowing tale of being stalked by a man for nine years.

In New York, a tennis coach who had stalked a former pupil killed himself last month after police foiled his attempt to kidnap the girl.

In Dana Point, Calif., a former postal worker who authorities say had been obsessed with a female letter carrier is accused of murder in the wake of a recent shooting spree.

Stalking, virtually unrecognized by the law three years ago, is rapidly rising as a significant social problem in America.

Spurred by a growing number of cases that too often end in violence, politicians are continuing to pass new laws, reassess existing ones, and search for other ways to curb the problem.

But questions about the constitutionality of the statutes remain, and advocacy groups say it will take more than penal codes to cope with a problem so complex and pervasive.

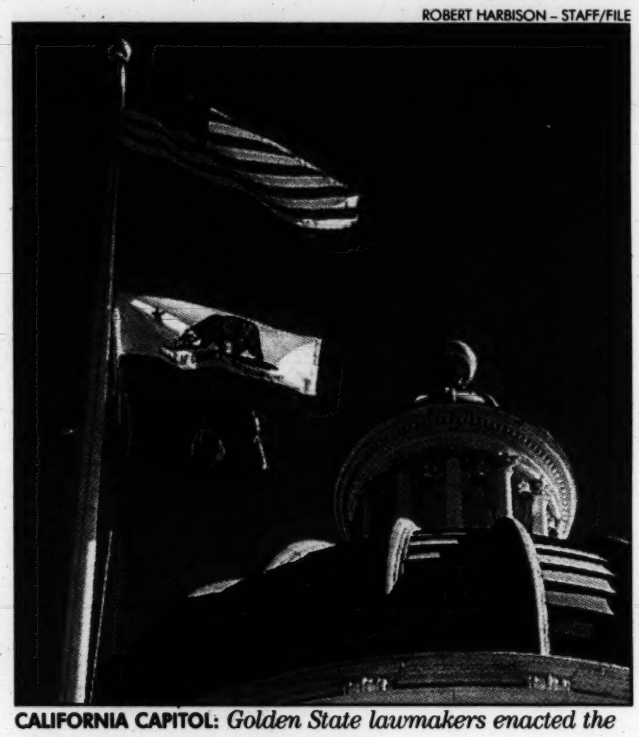
"Laws that have been passed are taking some people off the streets," says Matthew Reed of the nonprofit National Victim Center in Fort Worth, Texas. "But we haven't solved the problem by passing laws."

By one estimate, 200,000 people in the US are being stalked by someone. The city attorney's office in celebrity-heavy Los Angeles, considered the stalking capital of the world, alone handles some 500 cases a year.

Victims run the gamut: lovers, ex-lovers, coworkers, stars, public officials. Women are almost always the target.

Forty states have passed antistalking laws since California, acting in the wake of actress Rebecca Schaeffer's death, enacted the first statute in 1990. Several others may still act on legislation this year.

ROBERT HARBISON – STAFF/FILE



CALIFORNIA CAPITOL: *Golden State lawmakers enacted the nation's first stalking law in 1990.*

In Congress, Sen. Barbara Boxer (D) of California is proposing that it be a federal crime – punishable by up to 10 years in prison – anytime a stalker crosses state lines or uses the mail or telephone to deliver a threat. The measure is co-sponsored by Sen. Bob Krueger (D) of Texas, whose wife, Kathleen, was victimized by a stalker – receiving on some days as many as 120 harassing phone calls.

The drive comes as the National Institute of Justice, under legislation passed last year, is trying to fashion for states a model antistalking statute that will withstand court challenges.

While many prosecutors and advocacy groups welcome the laws, some worry they don't go far enough. Here in California, for instance, an effort is under way to broaden the state's pioneering statute.

The law requires that a "credible threat" be made before it is considered stalking. By the time that standard is met, critics say, it is often too late for authorities to act. They want to broaden the definition to include a "threat implied by conduct" or a "pattern of conduct."

"We are trying to give police the means to intervene in the early stages – before there is a dead body," says Rhonda Saunders, a deputy Los Angeles district attorney, whose office backs the changes. "The bottom line is we are trying to save lives – and the victim's sanity."

In the recent postal shooting case, Mark Richard Hilbun, the man arrested in the incident, had been stalking postal employee Kim Springer for more than a year, authorities say. He was fired from his job in December in part because of these actions. But he apparently didn't threaten her until just a few days before the alleged rampage. He has been charged with killing his mother and a postal worker and wounding seven others.

Ms. Saunders cites two cases she has been involved with in which stalkers warned their victims: You won't meet with me, but we will be in heaven together soon.

Under current law, she says, that is too ambiguous to be considered a threat.

The proposed legislation would also stiffen penalties for first-time and repeat offenders and provide therapy for those convicted of stalking.

The changes would make California's law among the toughest in the nation – perhaps too tough for some. The American Civil Liberties Union, among others, is monitoring the bill.

Most antistalking laws have not been tested yet in court. Florida's statute was upheld by one judge in February and struck down by another in March.

"The real action is going to be in the courts," says Donna Hunzeker, an analyst with the National Conference of State Legislatures. "There has been concern raised that some of the laws are too broad and too vague."

Advocacy groups say police and prosecutors need to be more sensitive to the problem and better trained. Judges need to be more willing to give out restraining orders. Activists want better counseling for convicted stalkers, since many take up where they left off when they get out of jail.

"We need to do more rehabilitation," Mr. Reed says. "Stalking by nature is repetitive."

UN Report Points to Large Racial Disparities in the US

WASHINGTON

A NEW United Nations report ranks Japan at the top of the Human Development Index – a yardstick that combines health, education, and economic data to judge the progress of world populations.

The United States comes in sixth, behind Canada, Norway, Switzerland, and Sweden, as well as Japan. But beneath the US ranking lies large racial disparity, according to the UN Human Development Report.

Measured separately, US whites would come in at No. 1, ahead of even the Japanese. Yet US blacks would lag far behind, at 31st, with about the same developmental level as Trinidad and Tobago. US Hispanics would lag even further, coming in just behind Estonia at No. 35 on the UN index.

The infant mortality rate for blacks in the US is more than twice what it is for whites, notes the report. Per capita US blacks earn about 60 percent of their white counterparts. Other developed nations may have even greater disparities between their white and ethnic minority populations, says the author of the UN study. The US is simply the only nation that publishes data broken down by race, making the comparison possible.

"Our hunch is there are worse disparities than this in the United Kingdom, for instance," says Mahbub ul Haq, special adviser to the United Nations Development Program and a former finance minister in his native Pakistan.

The lowest-ranking nation in the world is Guinea. Life expectancy at birth there is only 43.5 years – as opposed to 78.6 years in Japan. Real gross domestic product per person is $501 ($17,616 in Japan).

– Peter Grier

State Governor Grabs the Lead On Health Care

SOME states aren't waiting for the president's plan to begin their own overhauls of health care.

Washington Gov. Mike Lowry (D) signed into law May 17 a sweeping health-care reform package, which advocates proclaimed to be a model for President Clinton's overhaul of the national health-care system.

Legislative proponents of the law – which will establish "managed competition" health care – said it will provide every state resident with health insurance by 1999.

Within days of the bill's passage, Governor Lowry was summoned to the White House to brief the Clintons on the state plan. After it was signed into law, Hillary Rodham Clinton said in a phone call, "Many of the elements of the Washington Health Services Act mirror the essential elements of the national health-care reform package that we are developing...."

Under the Washington plan, a state commission will draw up a basic health-care package which all health-care providers must offer at, or below, a price set by the commission. Insurance will remain employer-based. To increase their bargaining leverage, small employers will be able to join large "purchasing cooperatives" which will increase their clout in negotiations with health providers.

Insurance companies and small businesses are opposed to the plan because, they say, it will impose an unfair burden on them.

Granite State, here they come!

Guess who's been popping up in New Hampshire lately? A suspiciously large number of Republican lawmakers who have only the flimsiest of excuses for visiting the Granite State. It doesn't take a political scientist to figure out that the maneuvering for the 1996 presidential race is under way.

Rep. Robert Dornan (R) of California stumped through New Hampshire on May 17, speaking to the Manchester Rotary Club on what he termed an "exploratory mission." He also was scheduled to hold a news conference in Concord May 18.

On May 17, Sen. Richard Lugar (R) of Indiana held his own press conference in Concord. He was more coy about his presidential ambitions than Representative Dornan. "I'm a candidate for reelection to the Senate in Indiana," he said. "This is not an announcement of a campaign." And, no doubt, it's common practice for Indiana politicians to campaign for reelection in New Hampshire!

– Compiled by Max Boot

ECONOMY

Vietnam Weighs Japanese Influence

Hanoi grows wary as outside carmakers push plans to develop Vietnamese auto industry

By Clayton Jones
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

HANOI

ALANKY, Lincolnesque entrepreneur named James Rockwell saw himself as a pioneer when he became the first American licensed to do business in Vietnam this year.

But after hanging out his shingle for his consulting company, Vatico, on a Hanoi townhouse, he soon discovered that the real pioneers in Vietnam were Japanese.

Not only had they already lined up business deals years ago, the Japanese were helping Vietnam to write the rules that could lock out latecomers, especially non-Japanese firms.

Mr. Rockwell quickly caught on. As the representative for Chrysler Corporation, he alerted Vietnamese officials that they had fallen into a trap by taking advice from Japan on how to set up a car industry for this nation of 70 million budding consumers.

Mitibushi Motor Corporation submitted a "master plan" to Vietnam last year on how to set up vehicle-assembly factories and auto-parts companies for the next 20 years. The 104-page report recommended vehicle models and listed many partsmakers affiliated with Mitsubishi's family of companies. The plan would limit production to achieve "economies of scale" – or, skeptics say, keep prices high.

"It was really the brainchild of Japanese bureaucrats," Rockwell says. Tokyo officials often talk of Japan as the leader of Asia's industries, setting standards for a vertical division of labor, with Japan at the top.

For example, Rockwell notes that the Mitsubishi plan calls for vehicle frames to be made in two separate parts, Japanese-style, rather than with the "unibody" frames used by American carmakers. That standard of manufacturing would give a decisive edge to Japanese companies.

Strategic standards

Such strategic standard-setting has been effective for Japan in helping its car companies dominate other Asian nations, such as Thailand and Malaysia. "Direct investment from Japan to [other parts of] Asia has helped to foster and shape the structure of industry and foreign trade in the region," says Takeru Ishikawa, chairman of Mitsui Marine and Fire Insurance Company.

East Asia, in particular, is seen as a "production center for the world," says Shoichiro Toyoda, chairman of Toyota Motor Corporation. For more than a decade, Japan has guided many Southeast Asian nations toward the goal of a regional industry that would manufacture vehicles and parts complementing each other along Japanese design.

"Those arrangements provide for cross-border division of labor and for mutual supply arrangement in automotive parts," Dr. Toyoda said in a speech May 14.

"Japanese automakers like Toyota and Mitsubishi Motors are actively involved in the complementation arrangements," he said. "We understand that nations have their own perspectives on those arrangements."

Vietnam, which expects sales of 80,000 cars annually by 2005, may be one of those countries with its own perspective, thanks to Rockwell's tip-off.

After first welcoming Mitsubishi's plan, "we became aware that the plan may be based on their own interests," says Tran Minh Huan, deputy director of Vietnam's Ministry of Heavy Industry. "Mitsubishi told us, 'If you accept our master plan, then we want exclusive rights to the car industry in Vietnam.' "

Rather than accept Mitsubishi's plan, Vietnam decided to invite other car companies, including General Motors, Renault, Fiat, and Chrysler, to offer their ideas on the future of Vietnam's car industry. A new master plan should be ready by the end of the year, Dr. Huan says. "We want diversity in our automobile industry. For the first three years, we will need to import autos parts. But after that, at least 20 percent of the parts must be produced in Vietnam. And after 10 years, we expect 40 to 50 percent."

Vietnam already has two small vehicle-assembly factories, but their production is below 10,000 units a year. One is the Mekong Corporation, a Vietnamese-Japanese-South Korean joint venture that puts together Isuzu-like vehicles from imported kits. The other is Vietnam Motor Corporation, a joint venture between the government and Columbian Motor Corporation of the Philippines. That plant pieces together parts from Mazda and Kia.

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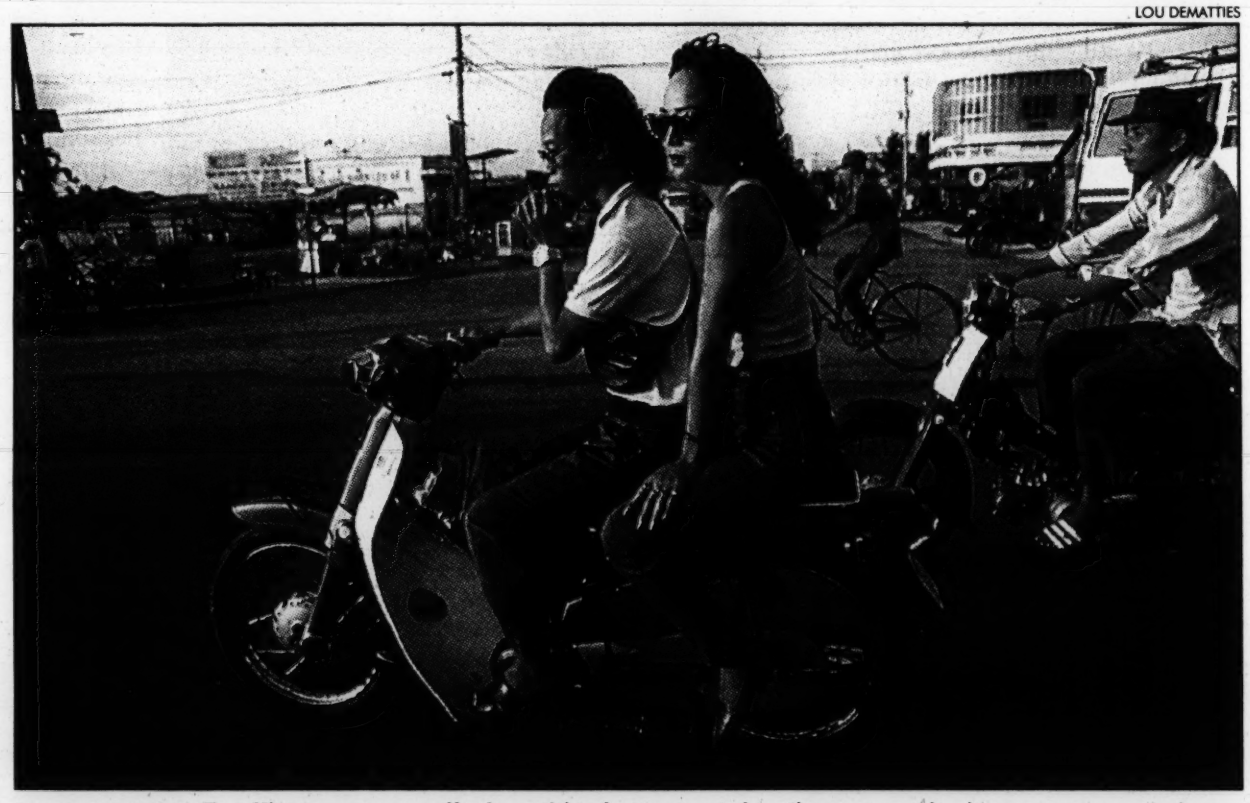


BIKERS IN SAIGON: *Few Vietnamese can afford anything but motorcycles, since per capita income averages only a few hundred dollars. Vietnam expects 80,000 cars to be sold annually by 2005.*

Many of the cars on the roads, however, are old American cars, such as 1960s Chevrolets, or Russian cars. With Vietnam's per capita income only a few hundred dollars a year, few people can afford anything but motorcycles (almost all Japanese imports).

Latecomer to growth

As a latecomer itself to Asia's dynamic economic growth, Vietnam is trying to learn from other countries' mistakes, such as those who have become overly dependent on Japan for loans, investment, parts, and technology.

But Vietnam, as a country rapidly emerging from a communist-run command economy to a free market, finds it hard to avoid Japan's strong economic embrace.

For one thing, the United States has only partially lifted its 29-year-long economic embargo against Hanoi. It now only allows American firms to set up offices and sign deals but not to implement them. Washington wants Vietnam to cooperate more in accounting for American soldiers lost in the war. The US law enforcing the embargo runs out in September, and President Clinton may decide not to renew it.

Another reason why Vietnam may be tempted to depend on Japan is because of the quality and low price (at least initially) of its goods.

But what sways Vietnam toward Western companies is that they offer to transfer technology, thereby helping this country build up its industry in the long run.

"Japanese companies never give us technology," says Huan.

Hanoi officials, eager for foreign investment and infrastructure loans, are putting together codes and standards that could favor or disfavor certain countries. From light bulbs to lightning rods, Vietnam is laying down the specs for investors.

"Those codes are not going to be American," Rockwell laments. "By next year, American companies won't be able to meet the specs for buildings. The damage will be done."

"We have a history in Vietnam that would allow us to be big players, but we are not here yet," Rockwell adds. "We've allowed our competitors to build the structures of Vietnam's economy without American involvement. And the strange part is that Vietnam wants us to be the dominant player."

HOME BUILDERS PICK UP PACE IN THE US

WASHINGTON

■ American builders speeded up construction of new homes by 6.7 percent in April after slogging through three months of winter that slowed housing activity throughout much of the country, the government reported May 18.

Housing starts increased in every region except the Midwest, where they fell slightly.

The Commerce Department said construction of new single-family homes and apartments totaled 1.21 million at a seasonally adjusted annual rate, up from 1.14 million a month earlier.

It was the largest increase since an 11.1 percent gain last August. Analysts had expected starts to advance about 6 percent.

HIGHER-PROFILE SPOKESMEN

NEW YORK

■ Communications executives are gaining importance in corporate America, according to a study by Conference Board, a business-funded research group in New York.

"During past economic downturns, communications was often viewed by top management as a function that was nice to have but expendable," says study author Kathryn Troy. "In the current period of rapid change, communications is being harnessed" to convey company strategy to both internal and external audiences, such as shareholders, she says.

The survey found that 40 percent of communications departments have cut their staffs over the last three years, but another 40 percent have expanded staffs.

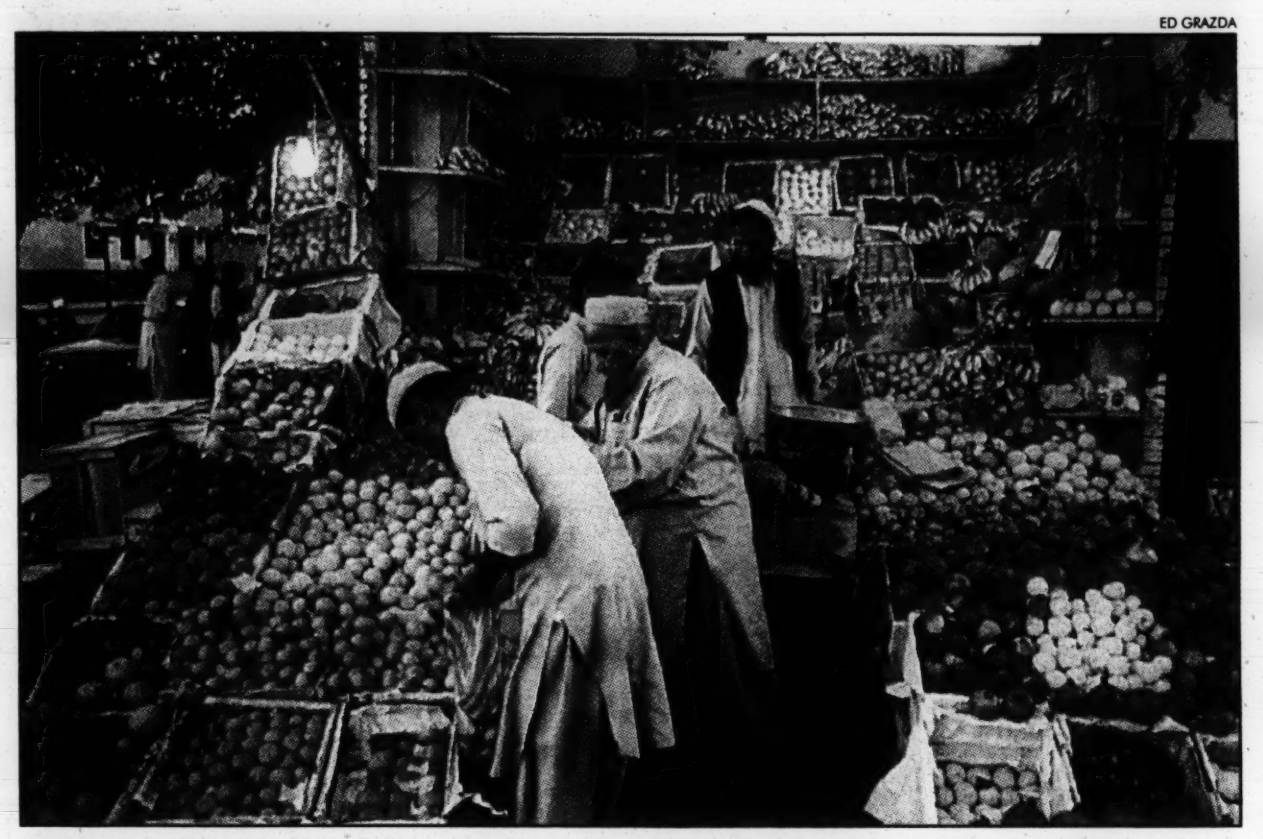
Communications executives anticipate a rise in journalistic sensationalism, and that companies will come under increasing pressure from special interest groups to prove they are good corporate citizens, the survey found.

BRINGING HOME THE BACON

CHICAGO

■ In the United States, 21 percent of the women in dual-income marriages earned more than their husbands in 1991, up from 16 percent a decade earlier, reports outplacement consulting firm Challenger, Gray & Christmas.

ED GRAZDA



FRUIT SELLER IN PESHAWAR: *Many Pakistani businessmen want privatization and deregulation to continue.*

Pakistan's Interim Government Pledges To Continue Reforms

By Farhan Bokhari
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

ISLAMABAD

A MONTH after the fall of Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif, Pakistani businesses remain worried about the future pace of economic reforms.

The Sharif government, which tried to introduce large-scale deregulation of the economy, was ousted April 18 by President Ghulam Ishaq Khan, who dissolved parliament after a four-month power struggle.

Mr. Sharif, Pakistan's first prime minister with a background in business rather than in the feudal elite, sought to remove bureaucratic constraints and privatize the largely unprofitable public-sector industries.

For the first time Pakistanis were exposed to new experiences such as being able to open foreign-exchange accounts in local banks and buying brand new yellow cabs with only a 10 percent down-payment, paying the rest in installments. Procedures for getting the government's permission to set up new factories once took several years, but Sharif's deregulation program allowed businessmen to get the paperwork done in three to four months.

"Now we have to see if Pakistan will continue to stick to that agenda," says a leading businessman in Lahore, the nation's second-largest city and Sharif's hometown.

The interim government of Prime Minister Balakh Sher Mazari, which will rule until the elections July 14, says it will not reverse any of the reforms.

In a recent speech before the upper house of parliament, the Senate, Mr. Mazari said, "We will neither put a brake on the economic measures put under way by the previous government, nor will we disregard the obligations of the government of Pakistan incurred under those measures."

Sardar Farooq Leghari, the new finance minister, also said in his first meeting with journalists after assuming office that the new government will continue to honor Pakistan's entire international and domestic contractual obligations. "Market-oriented concepts will continue to apply. We will continue to work towards further liberalization of the economic system and we are going to work towards even greater deregulation," he said.

But signs of uncertainty continue. The South Korean conglomerate, Daewoo, announced recently that it has frozen plans to invest up to $400 million in setting up new industries near Karachi until the elections are held.

In addition, stock prices on the Karachi Stock Exchange continue to suffer from nervousness among investors. The KSE-100 index has only just recovered to 1,107 points, the level it was at before the market fell sharply on April 19 in response to Sharif's downfall.

Broker Arif Habib does not expect a return of momentum in the market for the next three to five months, after a new government takes office.

The interim government intends to examine alleged cronyism in Sharif's privatization program – selling factories to favored investors. But many businessmen, especially those who were involved in buying factories, are concerned that such a review would only upset investors and make it difficult for any future government to rid itself of state-owned factories.

Under Sharif, the government set aside 102 public-sector factories for privatization and was able to finalize sales for 62 of them before its downfall. The program was taken forward on the argument that private-sector managers would boost profitability of factories that were earning only about 1.5 or 2 percent on assets.

As businessmen examine their options, Pakistan awaits the interim government's budget, which is due to be announced June 10.

The growing budget deficit leads the list of strains on the country's economy. Last year, the Sharif government set a target of $2.44 billion, or about 5 percent of national economic output, for the deficit. But damage to the country's infrastructure caused by floods last summer, and recession in the textile industry are expected to help raise the deficit to more than $3.76 billion.

Pakistan's overall economic growth rate, projected earlier at around 6 percent, is now expected to be lower.

Spain's Economy Struggles As Elections Approach

By Giles Tremlett
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

MADRID

FOR Spaniards, it has already gone down in history as Black Thursday.

In a single day – May 13 – Prime Minister Felipe González Márquez's socialist government devalued the peseta 8 percent against other European currencies and announced the country's worst-ever unemployment and growing inflation.

Coming just three weeks before Spain's national elections, the devaluation is a "point of departure for regeneration" for this once-booming economy, Mr. González declared optimistically. If González, one of the European Community's longest-serving prime ministers, loses the June 6 election, he may well look back regretfully on Black Thursday.

The peseta's drop was the third and largest in eight months. In that period it has lost 22 percent of its value against the other currencies in the Exchange Rate Mechanism, which is designed to keep European Community currencies within a narrow trading band on either side of an agreed value.

The news is good for northern European tourists, now expected to flock to Spanish beaches this summer. But it means many middle-class Spaniards, for whom foreign holidays became one of the most coveted rewards of the late-1980s boom, will stay home.

For Spanish companies the devaluation was a mixed blessing.

"We will receive more pesetas for the cars we sell abroad," says Juan Antonía Diaz Alvarez, head of Volkswagen's Spanish subsidiary Seat, which exports 80 percent of production. "But the parts and motors we buy from Germany will be more expensive. On the finance side it is very bad because a large part of our debt is in German marks."

"We all thought last year that the peseta was overvalued by something like 20 percent," says economist Antonio Pulido of Madrid stockbroker FG Inversiones Bursátiles. "Between 1989 and 1992 foreign investment increased a lot, keeping the value up."

But "in the end, market pressures were too much," Mr. Pulido says. Portuguese and Irish currencies have also been forced downward by market pressures in recent months, and the Italian and British currencies were forced out of the Exchange Rate Mechanism.

Helmut Schlesinger, president of the Bundesbank, Germany's central bank, called Spain's devaluation "the correct step and, from a political point of view, very brave."

But for González and Finance Minister Carlos Solchaga Catalán, the devaluation represented a humiliating switch. Both had promised repeatedly the peseta would not devalue before the elections.

BLACK Thursday's unemployment report left no doubt that the Spanish economy, considered Europe's star performer until last year, was in trouble. Joblessness hit 3.3 million, 22 percent of the working population. This was a rise of 567,000 in one year. Spain's economic growth, about 5 percent a year in the 1980s, came to a halt at the end of last year. First-quarter estimates for 1993 put the rate at minus 1.5 percent.

Nobody is quite sure whether Spain's economic miracle can be revived.

"What happens in Europe now is so important," says economist Pulido. "The peseta is at its correct value against the mark now and should stay there for two or three years.... I don't think we are going into a recession such as Britain has had. I think there will be growth again in 1994. But we will have to wait and see."

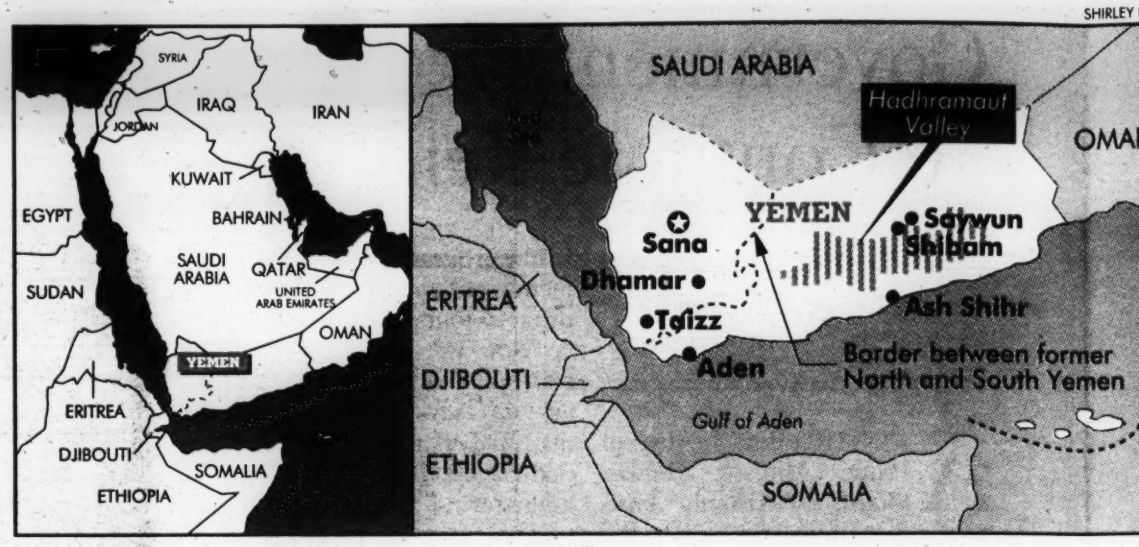
Investors expected the devaluation to be accompanied by a cut in the Bank of Spain's 13-percent base interest rate, which was supporting the peseta. Mr. Solchaga gave them what they wanted, cutting the rate 1.5 percentage points.

Behind Spain's current problems lie a large trade deficit – which devaluation should help close – and high labor costs. Wage agreements in January were still giving average raises of 6.4 percent. Inflation numbers, also released May 13, showed a slight rise to 4.6 percent.

González hopes the decisions made May 13 will get the economy moving. But with his Socialist Workers Party of Spain running even with the right-wing opposition Popular Party in opinion polls, he still cannot be sure that he will be in charge after June 6.

POINTS OF THE COMPASS

Once known for its frankincense and myrrh, Yemen is hoping prodigious reserves of oil will power an economic renaissance. Recent elections, the most open ever held on the Arabian Peninsula, promise an end to isolation.



Yemen's Oil Pipeline Runs Where Came

By Deborah Pugh
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

SAYWUN, YEMEN

IN the marketplace in Saywun, the capital of the Wadi Hadhramaut in the heartland of southern Arabia, just behind the magnificent Sultan's Palace, Ahmed Sarheed still sells frankincense and myrrh from rush baskets placed in front of his tiny store front, as he has for 70 years.

"Business isn't good," his son says. The Westerners who now flock to the Hadhramaut pass by. They seem unaware that the fragrant amber and pearly chunks of hardened tree sap once earned Yemen vast wealth, when incense was a vital part of pagan rituals in the Roman Empire.

Today the commodity of great value is oil, and no one is passing by. Dozens of oil companies are looking for reserves on the scale of those in neighboring Saudi Arabia.

Three years after unifying its traditional north and socialist south, Yemen, the most populous nation on the Arabian Peninsula and one of the world's poorest, is on the verge of an economic renaissance. The country held its first democratic elections last month, opening the door to greater development. As in the incense-trading Classical age, this verdant valley, wedged between the arid cliffs of the Jol mountain range, lies at the center of that progress.

"The three years between unification and the elections have held us up, everything was frozen. But now we are ready to go forward," says the local governor of Sawyun, Col. Abdel Rahim Atiq. He believes that while oil wealth would be an asset, "it should not be the main economic base – in Hadhramaut we have agriculture, tourism, and fisheries to develop and we want industry." Indeed, the search for oil has led to new discoveries about Yemen's antiquity and revealed untapped reserves of water.

So far the oil finds have been modest. But Yemenis are eager to have oil if only to lessen their economic dependence on Saudi Arabia, which for decades was the source of most of the foreign earnings that kept Yemen afloat. When Yemen criticized the coalition attack on Iraq during the Gulf war, the Saudis retaliated by deporting roughly 1 million Yemeni workers and cutting off aid.

Canadian Occidental Petroleum, the most successful oil interest in the valley, is about to begin production. As of Sept. 26, 120,000 barrels a day will flow from its fields southeast of Saywun through a pipeline that crosses the barren Jol plateau and winds down to the Gulf of Aden near Ash Shihr.

The grueling process of building that pipeline has revealed much about the Hadhramaut's past. "This is the area where frankincense was gathered during the Classical period," says Bukhard Vogt of the German Archeological Institute, who leads an archaeology project initiated and funded by Canadian Occidental. The first of its kind undertaken by an oil company in Yemen, the project is an effort to preserve the region's historical legacy.

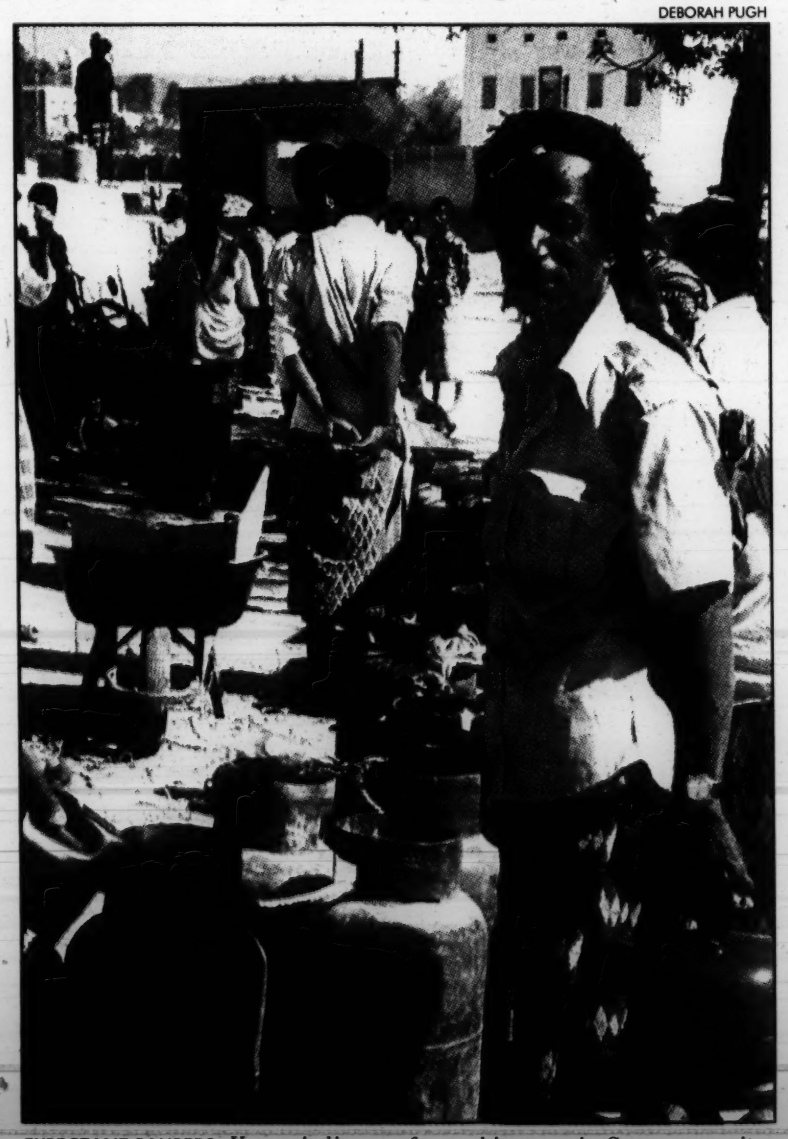
"At first we thought the overlap between the pipeline route and the camel trails was coincidental, but now we realize that the pipeline has been laid along the cheapest and easiest route, which is not always the shortest, just as the incense caravans traveled 2,000 years ago," he says.

Despite the intense heat and the rigors of the terrain, Dr. Vogt's team has pinpointed roughly 300 prehistoric sites along the 90-mile pipeline. Many of those sites are ancient graves indicating that southern Arabia has been inhabited for at least 7,000 years.

The exploration for oil also has revealed a resource that may be more important to the Arabian peninsula than oil: water.

"We have discovered vast reserves of water while drilling for oil in the Hadhramaut region, so much so that we have contributed $2 million to the government of Yemen to study the reserves," says Essam Zaghloul, a member of Canadian Occidental's community affairs team, which is sinking wells and grading roads to aid develop-

DEBORAH PUGH



EXPECTANT PAUPERS: *Yemenis line up for cooking gas in Sawyun, a city in the Hadhramaut valley. Hopes are high oil will boost the economy.*

Democracy and Tribalism in the Land of Sheba

YEMEN

IN Sheikh Ahmed Hussein al-Azeizi's *mafraj*, a traditional Yemeni reception room of impressive proportions, Kalashnikov assault rifles are hung on hooks. The men of his clan sit chewing *qat*, a shrub whose leaves have a mildly stimulating effect, while discussing poetry and politics.

Opposite the weapons, in alcoves above the arched window, are large stone fragments with Himyarite inscriptions, remnants of the dynasty that dominated Yemen 1,600 years ago. The windows look down on the beautifully terraced fields that form the economic backbone of this fortified village near Dhamar in Yemen's northern tribal heartland.

Sheikh Azeizi and his clansmen are representative of at least half of the country's 14 million people who have retained a tribal identity. While states have risen and fallen over the centuries, tribal structure has remained northern Yemen's basic political unit.

Governments in Sana have tried for 30 years, since the overthrow of the archaic Imamate monarchy, to bring the tribes under central control. But there are still large parts of the mountainous north where the Army has little chance of interceding. Tribes here are heavily armed, much of their arms supplied by Saudi Arabia as a means of maintaining influence.

In a country that held the first democratic elections on the Arabian Peninsula last month, tribal identity and autonomy would seem to contradict political liberalization. But Yemeni tribal members see no conflict.

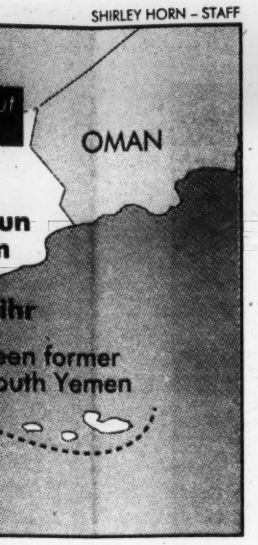
A young doctor in Sana who comes from a powerful tribe is one of the first generation of Yemeni women to be educated. She still believes in tribal structures.

"Can you imagine if the government in Sana had been able to control the whole country? We would have had complete dictatorship. But instead the tribes were part of consensus building," she says.

Azeizi favors a more historical perspective: "There was democracy here before there ever was in the West – going back to the Queen of Sheba."

– D. P.

SHIRLEY HORN – STAFF



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Vogt's ment in isolated settlements.

istoric The Hadhramaut is seen as a particularly promising region for agriculture. The valley was long isolated under the rule of the hard-line communist government of former South Yemen, which was closely allied with the Soviet Union. After two decades of disastrous state farming techniques, land is being returned to its original owners.

"Now people are taking farming very seriously. They are the owners and they are committed to farming," says Abdullah Salem Ba Atwa, who recently recovered his land from state control.

In antiquity the Hadhramaut relied heavily on monsoon rains for irrigation, conserving flood waters with an elaborate system of dams and canals. Archeological expeditions have located some 60 small dams along the 100-mile valley. "The wealth of southwestern Arabia was based on the ability to irrigate their fields using extremely sophisticated techniques, not merely on the incense trade," Vogt suggests.

While Yemeni farmers still terrace fields to conserve water, and pump from aquifers, only 10 percent of the Hadhramaut's rich soil is now under regular cultivation.

While Yemen's economy still depends largely on remittances from Yemenis working in the Gulf and the unemployment rate hovers at about 36 percent, officials hope underground water supplies will promote agricultural growth. "We already have the project proposals and now that the elections are over peacefully, we can proceed seriously with the World Bank," says Colonel Ahmed, the local governor.

The World Bank has funneled nearly $40 million into improving traditional flood irrigation and the sinking of tube wells to irrigate roughly 8,000 acres. "We currently have some 15 projects in Yemen in the agricultural sector and we are considering opening a World Bank office in Sana," says Nejdet al-Silihi of Bank's Yemen desk.

But younger people still rest their hopes more on oil than farming. Rayda Saleh al-Attas, a teenager, hopes oil will allow him to stay in the Hadhramaut, rather than following the waves of emigrants before him who were forced to seek work elsewhere in the Gulf, Indonesia, or east Africa.

"If we have an oil industry, I'd stay and work. Otherwise I will have to leave. It's in the hands of God," he says.

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MANOOCHER DEGHATI/AFP

FREE ELECTIONS: *Yemeni women line up in Sana April 27. It was the first opportunity for women on the Arabian peninsula to vote.*

Yemen's Parliament Courts the Saudis

SANA, YEMEN

THREE weeks after the first open election in the history of the Arabian peninsula, the Yemeni parliament elected a powerful sheikh as its speaker, a move that could signal improved relations with Saudi Arabia and an end to Yemen's isolation.

Sheikh Hussein Abdullah al-Ahmar, the paramount chief of the powerful Hashid tribal confederacy, has close ties to Yemen's wealthy but disgruntled northern neighbor.

Since foreign aid began to dry up three years ago, Yemen has been in financial trouble, making the sheikh's connections with the Saudis of critical importance, diplomats and Yemeni observers say.

Yemen's fledgling democracy is exceptional. At a time when the Arab world is struggling to reconcile the growth of political Islam and popular pressure for participation in state affairs, Yemen is building a political system that includes women, minorities, and religious parties.

The territory that is now Yemen was divided 300 years ago when the Ottoman Turks carved out a stretch of desert bordering the Red Sea. After the Turks withdrew in 1918, the traditional ruler Imam Yahya established a line of rule that was ultimately crushed in a military rebellion in 1962, when the Yemen Arab Republic was established.

To the south, the port of Aden was ruled as part of British India until 1837, when London established a protectorate that extended northward and eastward into the Arabian hinterland. Nationalist agitation ultimately forced the British to withdraw, paving the way for pro-Soviet Marxists to take control in 1971.

Several attempts at unification during the next two decades were frustrated by ideological differences and civil conflicts.

'Things are starting to return to normal and the door between us and our Gulf neighbors has been opened.'

– Yemeni House speaker

But the southern leadership was impelled to seek the merger when the Soviets began to stanch their aid, and the two republics formally accepted a constitution for a unified Yemen. Presidents Ali Abdullah Saleh of the north and Ali Salim al-Beid of the south became interim president and vice president until elections.

The merger was a tremendously popular move among Yemenis because the authoritarian single party systems of both states were dissolved to allow for a free press and multiparty democracy, including votes for women and Yemeni Jews. The process culminated in the April 27 ballot.

With the new speaker elected, parliament will deal as a matter of urgency with both economic and constitutional reform. Meanwhile, President Saleh and Vice President Al-Beid, whose positions are expected to be confirmed by parliament in coming weeks, will oversee the process of appointing new ministers.

The democratic process is not without problems, however. Critics of the new government say Saleh is eliminating the possibility of a strong parliamentary opposition by taking potential dissenters into his own party.

"During the campaign the real work of the government was to find the most popular sheikh and buy him into the party, which is why the PGC [Saleh's People's General Congress] did so well in spite of being very unpopular before the election," says one concerned diplomat.

"Now President Saleh is using his old policy of absorbing all centers of power, which means there could be no real opposition," he said.

There are signs that Yemen's democratic shift is bringing an end to its isolation.

The country faced stiff diplomatic and economic reprisals for criticizing the coalition attack against Iraq during the Gulf war. The United States Agency for International Development cut its aid to $3 million in 1991, down from $20.5 million. The Saudis expelled roughly 1 million Yemeni workers, causing a loss of billions of dollars in remittances, and slashed aid. Only the European Community kept its aid program at pre-Gulf war levels.

Earlier this month, David Mack, the American under-secretary of state for Middle East affairs, arrived here for a two-day visit. He told reporters Yemen's moves to improve relations with its neighbors would make it "more realistic to improve Yemen-US relations."

There are also signs that the Saudis may be warming. Last week the Saudi minister of education, Abd al-Aziz al-Abdullah al-Khuwaiter, delivered a letter to Saleh from King Fahd.

The minister – who heads the Saudi team negotiating the tense border dispute between the two countries – apparently indicated privately that Saudi aid to Yemen may be renewed, Yemeni sources in Sana said.

Speaker Ahmar, who is also leader of the Yemeni Congregation for Reform – Al-Islah, seems confident his election will help renew those ties. "Things are starting to return to normal and the door between us and our Gulf neighbors has been opened," he said.

– Deborah Pugh

ODYSSEY

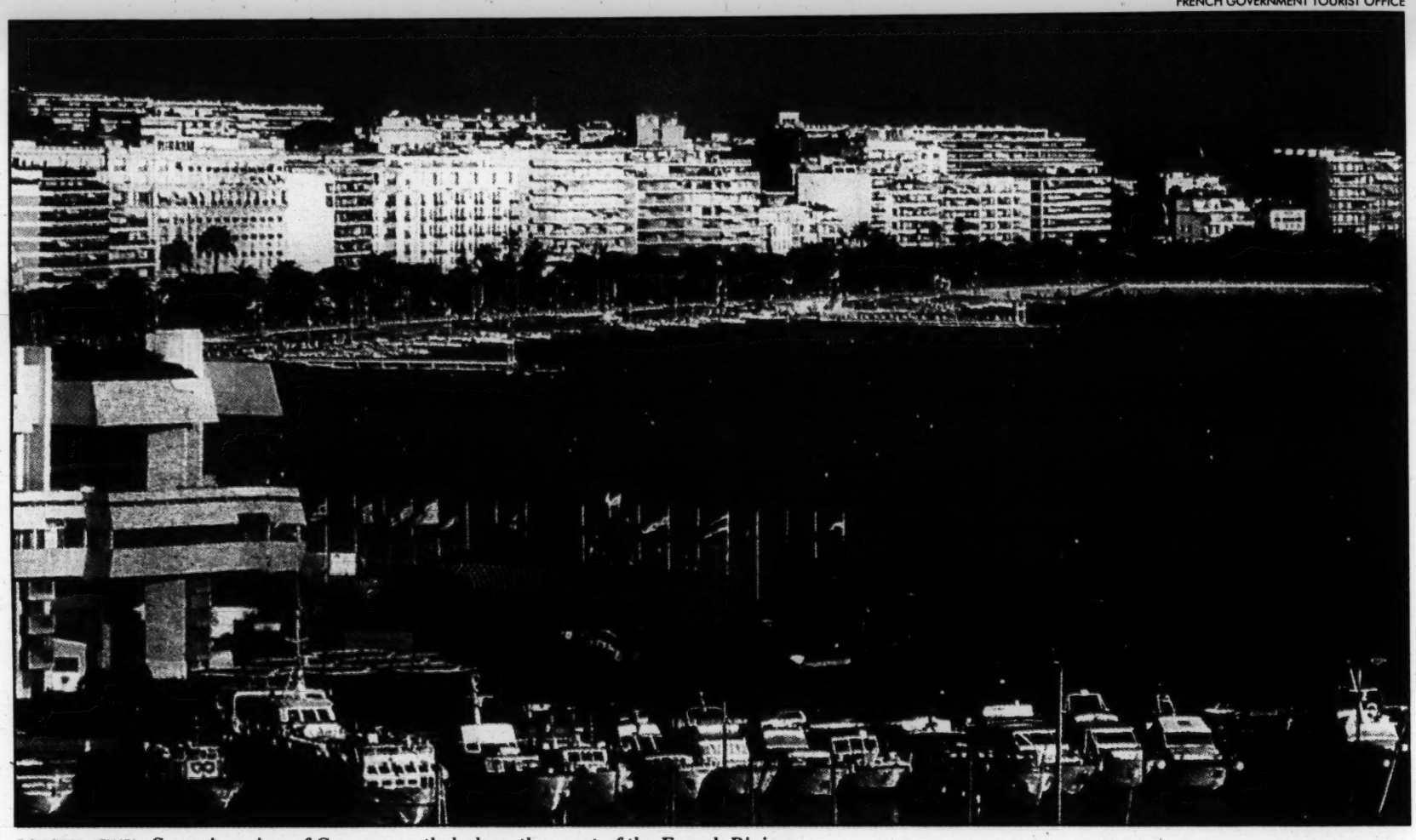
The Other Side of Cannes: Shores and Strolls

Between films there's still plenty to do and see in this sprightly seacoast town

By David Sterritt
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

CANNES, FRANCE

FRENCH GOVERNMENT TOURIST OFFICE



COASTAL JEWEL: *Sweeping view of Cannes, nestled along the coast of the French Riviera.*

THE heart of the Cannes Film Festival is the Palais du Festival, a modernistic maze of auditoriums, screening rooms, lobbies, and lounges that squats between the traffic jams of the Rue de la Croisette and the inviting waters of the Mediterranean Sea.

It is perhaps the most important film-related building in the world. Yet not everyone who goes to Cannes is headed for the Palais, and some visitors to the city may never have heard of it.

True, the city's most celebrated event is its annual May filmfest, which attracts movie professionals in gigantic numbers – some 30,000 in a typical year, by one estimate.

Cannes is a beautiful and sophisticated urban area quite apart from its cinematic appeal, however, and clever vacationers have been known to travel there when not a movie can be found – except standard entertainment films in ordinary commercial theaters, which proliferate in Cannes just as they do everywhere else.

Then too, people who aren't connected with the film industry but just love movies may schedule a French vacation during festival time, and spice their sojourn on the Riviera with a few of the Palais screenings that are open to the public.

What is often forgotten about Cannes is that it's a seaside resort first and a movie capital second – and only for about two weeks out of the year, at that. I discovered this during my first festival trip in 1974, when I found that the man sitting next to me on the airplane was a British antique dealer on his way to a week's relaxation in the Cannes sunshine. He was dimly aware that some sort of festival was going on, but couldn't have cared less. I'm sure he was taken aback by the crowds in areas of the city near the Palais; but I'm equally sure he had a wonderful time without venturing anywhere near a movie screen.

Attractions of the city include excellent beaches, an enormous array of restaurants, and hotels of every shape, size, and price. One can spend tremendous amounts of money on exotic meals, if desired, or one can dine on pizza and pasta in one of the narrow alleyways that branch unpredictably off the main streets and avenues. The weather is usually warm and sunny in the customary vacation months, and the Mediterranean shore offers everything from old-fashioned carousel rides to leisurely strolls around a venerable yacht-filled port.

So who needs movies?

Well, some of us do, every now and then – and if they have a major hold on your imagination, a trip to Cannes during festival time could be a memorable treat. Special care is in order, though, when planning a vacation in a place as crowded and sometimes chaotic as Cannes during its mid-May pinnacle of activity.

The most important thing to realize is that centrally located hotels are booked long in advance; many of them have long-term arrangements with yearly visitors who occupy every available room during festival time. This doesn't mean a stay is impossible, however, even on fairly short notice. Smaller hotels situated some distance from the Palais require a hike to the nearest movie screen, but may have plenty of available space – and may also be more dignified than their downtown counterparts, precisely because they're not in the center of the festival's circus-like atmosphere.

Accommodations outside Cannes itself are also a possibility. When friends visited my wife and me during the 1988 festival, seeing movies was the last thing on their priorities list – so they stayed in a little town a few miles away, and made day trips to Cannes. Parking is no worse than in most modern cities, and traffic is usually manageable if you stay away from the Croisette and its perpetual congestion in the shadow of the Palais.

Whether you arrive during or after the festival, things on a not-to-be-missed list include a ferry trip to the nearby Mediterranean islands with their rocky beaches and peaceful views; dinner overlooking the Vieux Port with its mixture of modest and luxurious boats; a couple of hours on the pleasant, grassy mall between the Croisette and the beach; and at least one afternoon in Le Suquet, the centuries-old hilltop neighborhood that boasts the oldest buildings, the highest church, and the city's most crooked streets.

What is often forgotten about Cannes is that it's a seaside resort first and a movie capital second – and only for about two weeks out of the year, at that.

And yes, a pilgrimage to the Palais, whether to view a film or just to contemplate the sprawling (and not very appealing) architecture of Cannes's most famous edifice. If you do decide to take in a movie, buy your ticket hours in advance, and remember that evening shows require formal attire – which means traditional tuxedos for men, although women can get away with more varied outfits.

Formal wear for moviegoing may seem eccentric, but it's one of the oddities that make this festival the most *festive* of its kind. And if the film bombs, at least the audience looks great!

New Efforts to Track Copyrighted Music

NEW YORK

SESAC, the smallest of United States music-licensing groups that collect royalties for songwriters and musicians, is launching a revolutionary system to track airplay of copyrighted music.

Royalties paid by broadcasters and others for use of copyrighted songs and musical compositions in such programming as prime-time entertainment shows, old reruns, and commercials easily total tens of millions of dollars a year.

The new SESAC service will use a computer-based airplay monitoring technology owned by Broadcast Data Systems. The BDS system can track and log any digital recording and is now used to confirm broadcasts of commercials, a BDS spokesman said.

The SESAC system will be able to apportion royalties on a "per-play" basis rather than the flat fees now paid by broadcasters and other users of copyrighted music. Most fees are now collected by blanket agreements drafted by the American Society of Composers, Authors and Publishers, (ASCAP), and Broadcast Music Inc. (BMI).

ASCAP, like BMI, a nonprofit group, said in March that local TV stations alone paid $647 million in fees to ASCAP for the broadcast of copyrighted songs used in old network reruns and other programs carried between 1983 and 1993.

The BDS spokesman said SESAC, recently bought by music-industry executives Freddie Gershon, Ira Smith, and Steven Swid and New York investment bank Allen & Co, would introduce its first service at a news conference.

– Reuters

PROFILE

Britain's Book of the Year Whitbread Prize winner is a Scotsman who writes in the vernacular of Glasgow's former slum district

A Working-Class Writer Charms the Literati

By Linda Joffee
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

LONDON

'NEVER has my flabber been more gasted," spluttered Jeff Torrington on the night his first novel, "Swing Hammer Swing!" received the highly coveted 1993 Book of the Year Whitbread Prize. He could also have been speaking about the reaction of much of the British literati. For Mr. Torrington, on the face of it, is a most unlikely man to be writing books, let alone scooping up a top literary award.

A Scotsman who grew up in the Gorbals, a now demolished section of Glasgow notorious for poverty, disease, and crime, he left school at 12 because of tuberculosis. But his stay in a TB sanatorium, by his own reckoning, was a blessing. The place had a comprehensive collection of the world's classics; young Torrington devoured the lot. When he left, at 14, the standard age in those days for working-class Scottish lads to earn their keep, he embarked on a long career of odd jobs: whiskey-crate packer, banana-warehouse worker, postman, cinema projectionist, car-plant laborer, and the like. By his late 20s, he was married with three children to support. In between, however, he read. And wrote.

Inspired, in particular, by the works of existentialists such as Camus and Sartre, Torrington churned out a procession of short stories – only to have them rejected by editors. Then one day, a local newspaper bought a piece, for which he was paid three guineas ($5). But until his Whitbread Prize-winning novel (available only in the British edition), the sum total of his earnings from writing came to barely £1,000 ($1,580).

About the time of his first modest publishing success 30 years ago, Torrington began the novel British critics are hailing as a landmark in English fiction; one aptly summed it up with: "Damon Runyon meets James Joyce."

REUTERS

JEFF TORRINGTON: *The novelist's style eludes easy categorization; one critic described it as 'Damon Runyon meets James Joyce.' His book – like life, he says – 'doesn't bother with plots.'*

Set in the 1960s, the 407-page tome centers around a weekend in the life of Torrington's alter ego, Tom Clay, a would-be writer living in the Gorbals, who has just had to pawn his typewriter to make ends meet, while his wife is in the hospital awaiting the birth of their first child.

Torrington's literary style is raw, ribald, and rambling. But the seemingly plotless tale – "life doesn't bother itself with plots," Torrington says – twists and turns, ducks and weaves, and what eventually emerges from the vagaries of verbiage is a gritty, graphic, decidedly idiosyncratic picture of life in a Scottish slum.

The author knows intimately what he's talking about, and it shows. The ring of truth resounds throughout the text. This, plus the mix of hard-hitting imagery with a no-nonsense surety of inventive expression, gives a kind of vibrancy that is rare in novels today.

When Torrington, for example, writes of Clay, he does not have him mundanely walking but rather "skittering" down the "streets of Crabton [a fictitious area in the Gorbals]." Equally, he describes the locality as "the kind of place you'd only visit if your plane crash-landed there. Its architectural theme was anonymity and this had been so faithfully subscribed to that even though it'd a graveyard bang at the heart of its main thoroughfare you'd've been hard pushed to locate it."

Torrington's work is suffused with humor – "gallows humor," as he calls it in an interview. Indeed, one gets the sense that the author views humor as the wellspring of life. Without question, it is a key underlying theme of his book, The Gorbals was, as Torrington observes, a pretty grim place. A highly developed sense of humor became an essential tool for survival. In terms of simple exigencies, for instance, no one possessed a bathtub; you used the sink or a large bucket or a public bath house for a wash. The toilet was outside, and typically shared with eight to 10 families. A kitchen – consisting of a small stove – was in the living room, which doubled at night as a bedroom.

Yet what replaced this unspeakable slum was, as Torrington puts it, in some ways hardly better. When the Gorbals was gradually demolished – hence the book's title, which refers to the builder's wrecking ball – the long-standing tradition of extended families living in close proximity was also obliterated. People were rehoused willy-nilly. Grandparents, aunts and uncles, grown sons and daughters no longer lived across the street or around the corner; once-strong family ties were stretched and broken.

What emerged in place of the Gorbal's tenements were high-rise crackerjack boxes. Every family now had their own proper kitchen, bath, and toilet – albeit jerry-built. And it was not long before deterioration set in: The elevator on which everyone depended was inevitably one of the first things to go, resulting in the elderly and mothers with baby buggies having to either brave trudging up and down endless flights of stairs, or remain stranded in their urban eyries.

Today, dubbed "modern slums," what replaced the Gorbals is now itself in the process of being demolished. "Swing Hammer Swing!" is Torrington's personal statement not only about life in the Gorbals, but about also what happens when city planners try to solve problems through "enlightenment" on the cheap, rather than genuinely responding to real human needs.

That Torrington completed such a weighty work is all the more remarkable given that he has been ill during the past 10 years, diagnosed with Parkinson's disease. Even speaking is difficult, which means that Margaret, his wife of nearly 35 years, is always nearby to translate.

"But Jeff still has a great sense of humor," she remarks. "And his attitude toward his illness is that he will never let it overcome him. He's always fighting it, so even on a poor day, he'll set up his word processor and have a go." And thank heavens for the word processor, she says, which he acquired fairly recently. "It means he doesn't have to use so much Tippex [correction fluid]," she notes, with a laugh.

OUTWARDLY Torrington's life has changed little, despite his sudden success. But inside, he confides, winning the Whitbread Prize has brought him profound satisfaction. The £20,000 ($31,600) award means he and Margaret may one day buy a car, if she obtains a driver's license. He would also like to fulfill a long-standing dream of visiting New Orleans to hear live jazz, his passion; that too, however, is on hold. He and Margaret flew on an airplane for the first time in their lives when they came to London for the preliminary awards dinner last November.

Still, for Torrington, one of the best rewards of all to come from his literary achievement, he says, goes beyond the merely personal. He says it has been the overwhelming assumption that only university-educated, middle-class folk had something to say worth reading: not people such as himself, who write in a colorful combination of street jargon and working-class Glaswegian, which is more comfortable for him than standard English.

"Before, it was very much: How can you be a writer if you are working class?" chimes in Margaret. "But with Jeff getting this award, working-class writers in Glasgow have been given a big boost – without a doubt."

'Betwixt Deil and Deep Blue Sea'

FIRES fuelled by wooden beams burned in cleared sites. Rubble was being trucked from busted gable ends and demolishers worked in a fume of dust and smoke. You would've thought that the Ruskies had finally lobbed over one of their big megaton jobs: streets wiped out, landscapes pulverised. On a gutted site near a fire that drizzled sparks on him, a greybeard sat in a lopsided armchair, placidly smoking his pipe. I nudged Eddie and pointed to the old guy. He spared the greybeard a cold glance then turned his attention to the windscreen through which could be seen advancing streets shorn of their pavements by snow, and of their buildings by the Hammer....

Most of the old Gorbals had been leveled by now. Housing Planners had taken their slum-erasers and rubbed out all the people who'd lived there. Some original specks still clung to the Redevelopment blueprints but these would be blown away shortly.... The movie house [the Planet Cinema] was bracketed by the defunct O'Leary's betting shop and the derelict Blue Pacific Cafe, mention of which is made in local bard John Scobie's 'Ode to a Flea Ranch', where he described the kinema as being 'A crackit planet betwixt the deil and the deep blue sea...'

– From 'Swing Hammer Swing!' by Jeff Torrington (London: Martin Secker & Warburg)

INTERVIEW

One man's extraordinary forgiveness led to his appointment as senator

Irish Folk Hero Confronts 'The Troubles' as His Own Man

By Alf McCreary
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

BELFAST

"I BEAR no ill will," said Gordon Wilson after the death of his daughter Marie in a Provisional Irish Republican Army explosion six years ago.

"I bear no grudge. Dirty sort of talk is not going to bring her back to life.... I don't have an answer. But I know there has to be a plan.... It's part of a greater plan, and God is good. And we shall meet again."

Mr. Wilson's words to a television reporter made this rural shopkeeper a household name. The hearts of millions of viewers in Ireland, Britain, and abroad were touched by the directness and the poignancy of his sentiment.

Wilson has kept a low profile since then, but now he's back in the headlines.

Such was the enduring impact of his response to terror that in February, Wilson was asked unexpectedly by Irish Prime Minister Albert Reynolds to fill one of the 11 appointed seats in the nation's 60-member Senate as an independent, nonparty member. After not a little prayer, Wilson says, he accepted.

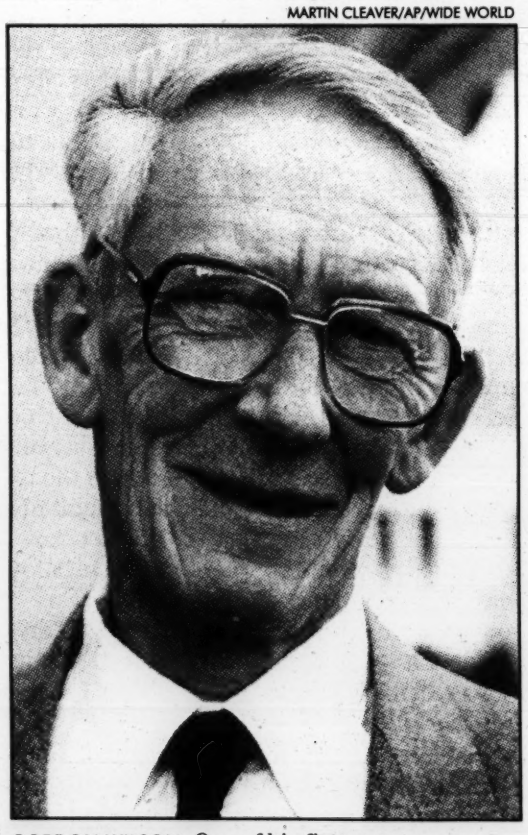
In late March, Senator Wilson asked publicly – through the pages of the Sunday Times of London – for a private, face-to-face meeting with the Provisional IRA. His motive, he says, was not politics or self-aggrandizement. He wanted to confront the IRA "as a human being to human beings," and to ask them to consider achieving their objective of a united Ireland by nonviolent means.

Senator Wilson met two IRA members, a man and a woman, early last month at a secret destination. Throughout the meeting he held a book about his daughter to give him moral strength, but the talks were fruitless. A saddened Wilson told reporters the next day that "Their [the IRA's] position is entrenched. I did not feel that I had achieved anything, and it may have been naive of me to believe that I would."

He was criticized by some politicians who thought he had given credibility to the IRA by talking to them, but other powerful voices rallied to his defense. John Hume, the leader of the Social Democratic and Labour Party, which backs Irish unity by peaceful means, said, "He showed himself to be a man of deep, deep Christian charity and tolerance." The Very Rev. Dr. Jack Weir, who had met the IRA face to face in 1974, said, "I wish there were a thousand Gordon Wilsons, even 10,000."

Though drained physically and emotionally by his encounter, Wilson regained strength quickly, and recently returned from a speaking tour in the United States. His friends say that he has the ability to shake off criticism and the courage to do what he believes is right, including putting moral pressure on the IRA.

MARTIN CLEAVER/AP/WIDE WORLD



GORDON WILSON: *One of his first acts was to meet with the Irish Republican Army, which had set off a bomb in 1987 that killed his daughter.*

His role as an Irish senator is less a legislative or political job than it is a bully pulpit. He receives thousands of letters from all over the world, including a number from IRA members now in prison. Even Queen Elizabeth II singled him out for a special mention in her Christmas message several years ago. "I represent no one," Wilson says, "I speak as Marie Wilson's dad."

Austin Currie, an elected member of the Irish Parliament who represents a Dublin constituency, says, "Senator Wilson made a quite extraordinary impact in Ireland, North and South, when he made his first statement in 1987. People remembered him, even though he chose to adopt a low profile. He comes across to everyone as a very sincere man who is not tied to any party or any political viewpoint."

The manner of Marie Wilson's death in 1987 is still vividly remembered. Gordon and Marie, a student nurse, went to the Cenotaph in their home town of Enniskillen, just north of the Irish border, to share in the annual November commemoration of the dead of two world wars. It was a scene being repeated all over the United Kingdom on that solemn day of remembrance. Suddenly, an IRA bomb meant for the security forces ripped through the crowd of civilians waiting by the Cenotaph. Ten people died, and many others were badly injured.

"The wall collapsed," Wilson recounted on TV, "rubble all around us and under us. I shouted to Marie, 'Are you all right?' and she said, 'Yes'.... She found my hand and said, 'Is that your hand, Dad?'.... We were under six feet of rubble.... Three or four times I asked her ... she always said 'Yes, I'm all right'.... I asked her the fifth time 'Are you all right, Marie?' ... she said 'Daddy, I love you very much.' Those were the last words she spoke to me."

Some two hours later, Marie died at the local hospital. Her father recovered slowly from a shoulder injury. He and his wife, Joan, and their two grown children, Peter and Julie-Anne, avoided publicity.

Why did he decide to accept the Prime Minister's appointment?

"It was time for a change," he confided to a friend. "This has given me a new lease on life. My intention is to speak primarily for myself, using the kind of words that I normally do, and be my own man."

"The bottom line is love," he says. "There's nothing more I can say."

■ *'Marie: A Story From Enniskillen,' by Gordon Wilson, was written with Alf McCreary.*

'Shining Path' Led Peru on a Dark Road

By Richard Ryan

FOR the last decade, as international communism waned, Peru has seen the remarkable rise of a Marxist guerrilla army. Sendero Luminoso, the Shining Path, is a movement that blends traditional Indian ways with Maoist revolutionary dogma. Led for more than two decades by Abimael Guzmán, a former philosophy professor of astonishing energy and intellectual fervor, the Shining Path by 1992 posed a serious threat to Peru's government. The Senderistas, as members are called, are so committed that the capture of Guzmán last September may turn out to be no more than a temporary setback.

In "Shining Path: Terror and Revolution in Peru," Simon Strong, a British journalist who developed excellent sources within the movement, treats it as an outgrowth of 400 years of racism and economic inequality. He explains the ways in which traditional Incan beliefs – especially in a cosmic upheaval followed by a global rebirth – were grafted onto Marxist theories.

In a country where the wealth is tightly controlled by an elite of European descent, social unrest has been a way of life. In recent years the collapse of mining and agriculture in the mountains has sent the Indian population surging into urban areas such as Lima and Ayacucho. Enormous shantytowns erected on the edge of cities have become recruiting grounds for Shining Path terrorists, as have the swelling jailhouses, where captured guerrillas stage rallies and indoctrinate fellow prisoners.

BOOKS

SHINING PATH: TERROR AND REVOLUTION IN PERU
By Simon Strong
Times Books, 286 pp., $23

The rise of the Shining Path also accompanied the boom in the international cocaine trade. Peru grows 60 percent of the world's coca leaf, and drug trafficking sustains Peru's otherwise shattered economy. The Shining Path, although it disapproves of drug trafficking, has also protected *campesinos* from the Army's efforts to exterminate their coca crop. The United States, as part of the "war on drugs," has backed the Army's tactics and helped to turn the peasants against its government.

In responding to the Shining Path, the Army has been both brutal and incompetent. Well-documented massacres in isolated villages have created a militant following for the Shining Path and bestowed on Peru one of the world's worst human rights records.

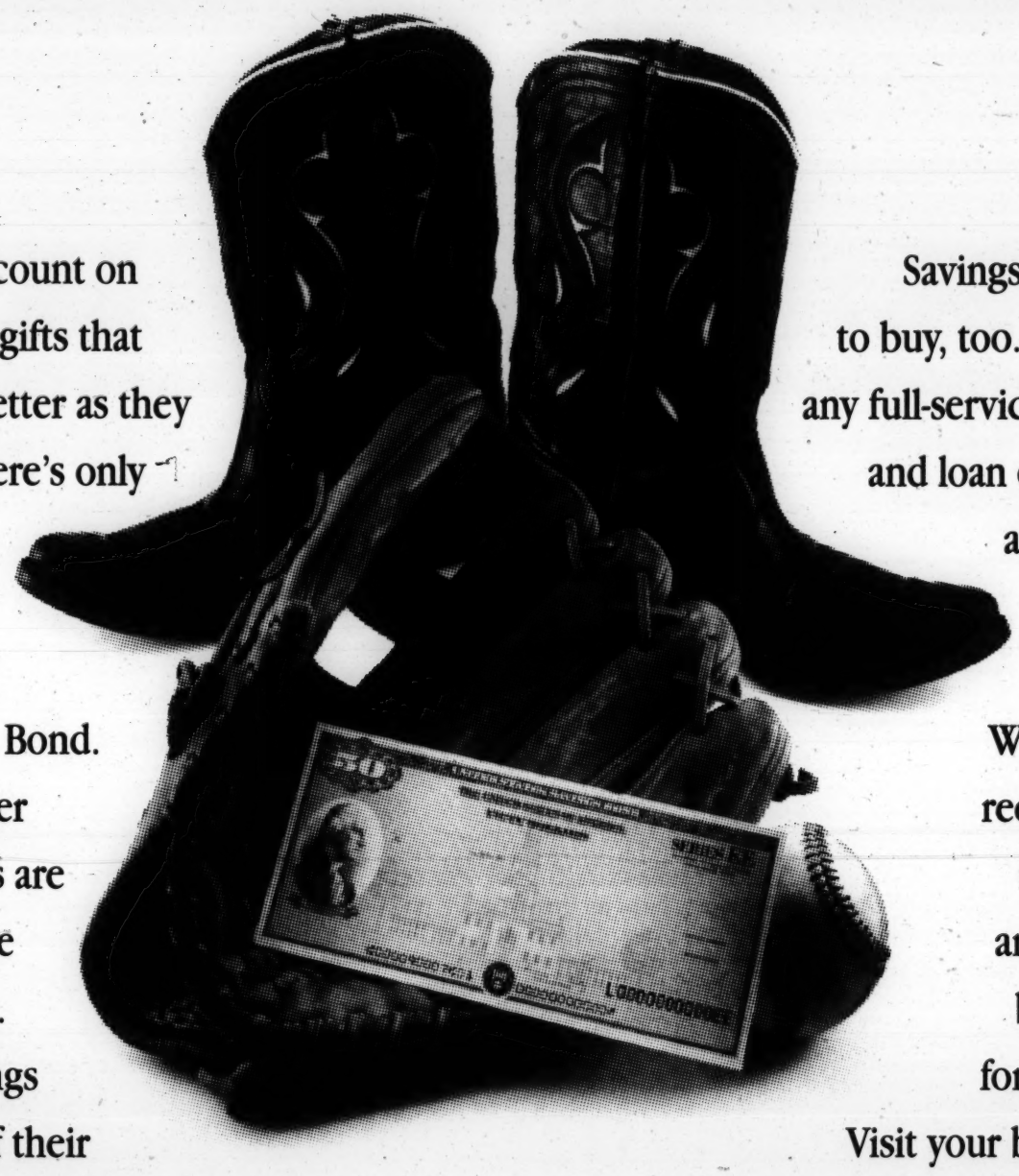
As Strong was finishing his book, certain key factors were changing. The new Peruvian president, Alberto Fujimori, has proved to be a shrewd, steely leader. Fujimori's so-called "self-coup," in which he suspended the constitution and seized total control of the government, has proved popular in a country exhausted with turmoil and poverty.

The capture of Guzmán by an elite police squad also boosted Fujimori's popularity. Strong describes the arrest in a brief afterword and speculates that while the Shining Path is probably too broad-based to be stopped by Guzmán's exit, it may experience some factional infighting.

While the full effects of these developments remain unclear, the unpredictability of the crisis in Peru makes this lucid historical account all the more valuable. "Shining Path" is a trenchant analysis of this preeminent active revolutionary movement.

■ *Richard Ryan, a New York-based business consultant, writes frequently on international affairs.*

Few gifts actually improve with age. Your bank sells one of them.



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THE DEPARTMENT OF THE TREASURY 1789

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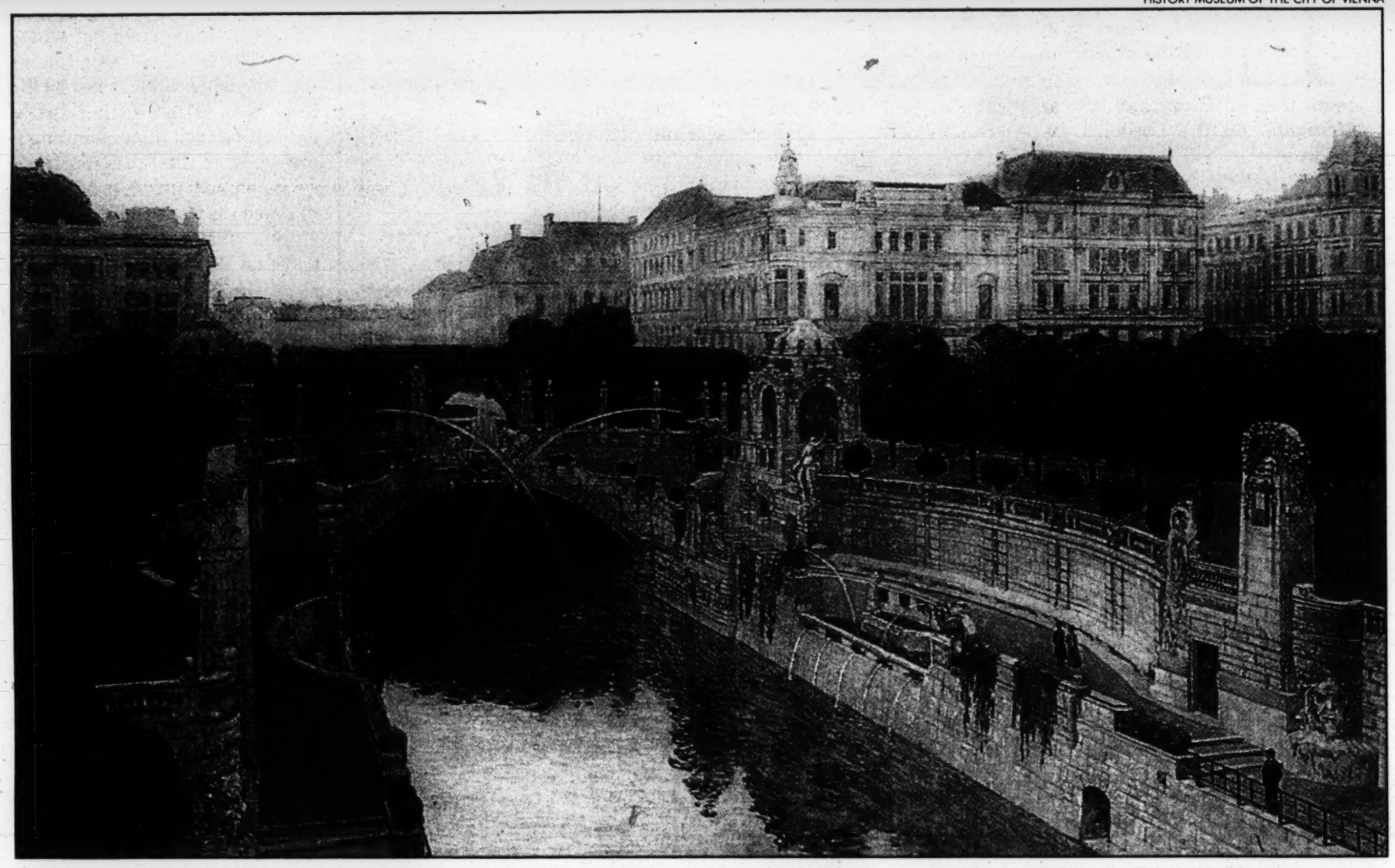
When History Hits Close to the Heart

HISTORY MUSEUM OF THE CITY OF VIENNA



'DESIGN FOR THE ARCHING OVER THE RIVER WIEN IN THE STADTPARK.' (c. 1898): *Pen-and-ink, colored wash, crayon, 28.4 by 47.8 in., by Friedrich Ohmann and Josef Hackhofer.*

I DIDN'T set out to find my own past in Vienna. A young American, my personal history stretched back about as far as the bell-bottoms I wore in nursery school, and after that it got murky. Dad says he plopped me in front of the television to witness Neil Armstrong's giant leap for mankind, but I'm not sure it made as much of an impact as Sesame Street did at the time.

In going to Vienna, I wanted to decipher other people's pasts – to unlock their treasures and peer through their windows. History was more of a fascinating jigsaw puzzle than a pilgrimage. Fresh out of college and eager to test my shiny new analytical skills, I planned on using the former imperial capital to study social and political upheavals in the 19th and 20th centuries. My mother once asked, gently, if I would visit her mother's old apartment in the third district. I wasn't sure I would make it, I murmured, wishing she would understand that I had other things to do.

"Your grandmother lived at Rechte Wienzeile 23," she said lightly, but she didn't press the issue. Perhaps she felt, as I did, that exploring my relatives' pasts could only distract me from my studies of more important historical characters – the ones who already had earned places in the academic journals. But no one would ever write the history of my grandparents, Josefa and Leopold of the third district, and we saw each other so seldom anyway.

OF course, history had interested me from the start in college, but I rarely took it personally. I did marvel with Parisians at the Tennis Court Oath, and gaped at Bismarck's iron hold on power. I wished I could have listened as Disraeli and Gladstone debated the Englishman's right to vote, and to have spoken up as the quiet Stalin calculated his rise in the Central Committee. Yet the world's tumultuous past and history's lessons hardly extended all the way down to the relatively mundane life of the individual student.

Studying in Vienna changed all that. The city *is* history, and its inhabitants tell of the Turkish invasion of 1683 as if it happened last week, and of Franz Joseph II as if he were still their beloved emperor, even though he came to the throne in 1848. At first, I listened to such tales nonchalantly, since I'd grown up in Boston and was used to stories about the Pilgrims, the tea party, and the 1986 NBA Championship. A few weeks into my stay, however, I realized that the stories were not just for tourists, or to amuse history students. They didn't always ring of self-serving partriotism as the cynical B.A. in me half expected. They vibrated with immediacy, sometimes with humor, and often hit close to the heart.

Even the tap water has its story. At the turn of the century, Mayor Karl Lueger made sure that Vienna's water was the envy of all Europe by having the fresh reservoirs in the hills piped into the city. In doing so, Lueger elevated the capital's sanitation standards to impressive levels. Today, each coffeehouse serves a complementary glass of water (unheard of on the continent) with coffee orders as a salute to the man who made the water delicious.

"Some Swiss friends were in town for a visit, and they loved the taste of the water," a friend reported proudly. "I told them they do not have water from the hills as we do. They have more money, but we have the fresh water." I wondered if my city's mayor at the turn of the century had been equally productive. I didn't even remember his name.

Of course, as the world has come to know, not all stories from Austria are lighthearted. After World War I, no one expected the shorn empire to last long, and Vienna spent 20 years grappling with political strife, economic despair, and interminable prejudice. When Hitler marched across the border on March 12, 1938, the government hardly had an ideological argument against him, let alone any military strength. Thousands cheered the Führer as he announced the annexation of his home to the Reich.

I heard a young man continue that story. "Seventy thousand Austrians were arrested immediately,"

In going to Vienna, I wanted to decipher other people's pasts – to unlock their treasures and peer through their windows.

he said softly. "The Nazis painted the stones and pavement in the city with graffiti, and made the Jews get down on their hands and knees to scrub it off with toothbrushes." His voice grew hoarse. "And the next night, the Nazis painted the stones so the Jews would have to do it again and again, while the SS watched." His voice broke, and he had to stop. I stared at him and saw that he had communicated no intellectual drama, but his own sorrow for his country's tragedy. He felt his country's past intimately without experiencing it. However horrible, history's impact made him intensely sympathetic to his countrymen and to the problems they faced. Likewise, I could and should find such profound meaning in my own history.

I began to wonder what my grandparents had thought of Austria's First Republic and Hitler's rise to power. Leopold and Josefa left the capital in 1921, escaping before the debt-laden country would finally crumble.

I went to the opulent Karlskirche; they had scrimped in order to be married at one of the side altars there. Every so often I would stroll through the open market in front of Rechte Wienzeile 23 and try to see Josefa bargaining for peaches and turnips.

Somewhere on the street, I dimly recalled, must be the old shoe store where my great-grandfather had crafted custom-made shoes for the nobility. The inevitable Industrial Revolution and the fall of the Empire must have been crushing. I couldn't find any shoe store. The apartment had new tenants. I became a bit discouraged; I had tried, but it seemed too late to retrace my family's footsteps.

I finished my year in Austria, and studied my share of history's grand events – with a little more insight into the lives they molded and the consequences they wrought. Upon my return, my grandmother happened to be visiting. She didn't speak English, and although I spoke German, she always had seemed distant. I hoped this visit would be different, and I recounted many of my adventures in her first home. One day, I was baking bread for the family, and she watched. I asked her if she remebered doing the same in Vienna.

'NO, never," she recalled instantly. The soft Viennese lilt was still in her voice. "I always went to Ankerbrot."

The bakery at the open market. The same one I'd been to – I knew the name. She smiled at me. The years fell away, and I imagined myself with young Josefa, two young girls walking down the boulevard together in our pulled-back hair, starched collars, and black boots with our *Kronen*. Turning in at the bakery, she would order sugar-powdered white *Krapfen* for a snack as I purchased a strong wheat loaf for dinner.

I saw us then skip away with our goods, wave at her father in his shop, and finally part ways until the next day. History finally hit home, and my grandmother and I laughed together.

Kristiana Helmick

What We Said In English

"LET'S be quiet for a moment," said my six-year-old grandson Paul. "We've talked a lot."

I'd been listening to his careful voice for more than an hour as I followed the small caravan of cars over the Jura Mountains on the border between Switzerland and France.

Paul and his family were returning from six months in Washington, D. C. We had picked them up at the Geneva airport and were on our way to their home in France. Paul and I were keeping one another company, along with most of the family's luggage piled up on the back seat behind us.

"What did you do during a school day?" I had asked.

"That'll take a long time to answer, Grandmommy." His blond hair reflected the morning rays of sunshine. He was dressed in a maroon and white track suit, with clean white sneakers.

"Well, how did you start your school day?"

"We said the Pledge of Allegiance: 'I pledge allegiance to the flag of the United States of America and to the republic for which it stands....' "

The words resurfaced from my childhood in the United States, skipping over an entire generation. This was now my French grandson. When his father, the oldest of our children, had married a fellow French student from medical school, I was far from thinking that one day their son would be speaking to me in English.

"Then I went to my special teacher to learn English. She was a very good teacher."

"Maybe you were a very good pupil."

In six short months, Paul was speaking English fluently, with only a slight accent, hardly noticeable to my ears that were adjusted to 30 years of living in French-speaking countries with my French husband.

"After my special English class," he continued, "I went back to my regular class."

He folded his legs up under him, American Indian style, settling in for a long conversation.

"There we learned about our country. In first grade, we learned about Christopher Columbus."

I listened. What had he learned about Christopher Columbus during this 500th anniversary year?

"He was a very brave man to travel across the ocean and discover a new country."

I wanted to tell the little French boy, sitting next to me in the car on his way home, that it wasn't that simple. But I hesitated – as his one American relative – to nip his budding patriotism.

"Our teacher read us stories about him. He made many trips back and forth across the ocean. Each trip to America was long and dangerous."

America. What was this new country for Paul?

"And then," he continued, still answering my question, "and then we learned about Martin Luther King." He said this long name easily and distinctly, as if he had grown up with it.

"Martin Luther King came from a large family and wanted everyone to get along. He wanted his brothers and sisters to get along together."

I didn't interrupt. This was my grandson's history lesson.

"He had many friends, but some people didn't like him and they shot him."

I glanced at Paul. His open, blue-eyed face showed disbelief.

"This is like war," he said. "I don't want war. I don't want to ever see war."

Maybe it was about now that he suggested we be quiet a minute.

I drove on in silence. We were nearing the top of the Jura. A light snow had fallen during the night, enough to cover the trees that stood still in the morning sunlight.

"LOOK, Paul. It is beautiful. The trees are painted with snow."

"Yes, the trees are painted with snow." To hear my grandson repeat my words made them sound alive.

"Grandmommy, why are there wars?"

I could feel Paul's intent gaze upon me. He rested his head against the seat, waiting patiently for an answer. I thought back over our conversation.

"Wars happen," I replied, "because people forget that they are brothers and sisters."

"But I don't forget. I don't want to fight my younger brother and sister. People should live together in one big family."

He sat up straight and looked out the windows. He was a small child and had to stretch to see outside.

The snow-frosted trees had disappeared. We were now on the other side of the mountains, driving through hills and meadows turning green and waking up to an early spring. There were no cars around us; we were all alone.

"Grandmommy, did you know that I went to the parade for President Clinton?"

"No. I didn't."

"I never saw so many people," he said, still looking outside at the quiet countryside. Then he added, "I like President Clinton. I don't think he wants war either."

Christopher Columbus, Martin Luther King, Bill Clinton. They were no longer foreigners to him.

We were arriving near the village where his French grandmother lived. The houses were old and built in stone, tinted yellow. The wooden shutters were a faded green. Lace curtains hung at the small paned-glass windows. We followed the narrow lane that led up the hill. The family was out front, waiting for us.

"Now we will speak French, Grandmommy," Paul said, as he undid his seat belt. "But we won't forget what we said in English."

I watched him hurry to catch up with his French family, knowing that the part of him that was American would open again, like a lace-curtained window in a house.

Susan M. Tiberghien

Instead of a Poem

Instead of a poem
I'm making a salad
of leafy lettuces
to praise everything green.

I add slivers of satin
cabbage and carrot
mix olive oil with lemon,
mustard and mint.

Instead of words
I toss dark leafy romaine
to share when I serve it
the praise of everything green.

Diana Der-Hovanessian

Fact or Fiction?

NEWS reports often sharply focus the minds of thousands or even millions on awful circumstances, which are then accepted as unalterable fact. Fortunately for those touched by such extremity, it is possible to eliminate these awful effects by understanding what is actually fact—and what is fiction. The Bible shows us how to begin. Consider, for example, the inspiring and reassuring guidance given in the book of Proverbs: "Trust in the Lord with all thine heart; and lean not unto thine own understanding. In all thy ways acknowledge him, and he shall direct thy paths."

When we place our entire trust in God, we abandon our reliance on what the human mind accepts as the norm in human affairs. Instead, we are learning to depend on the wisdom and spiritual understanding that spring from divine Mind, which is God. God's knowing is omnipotent, omniscient, and omnipresent good. He created man spiritual, in His own image and likeness. Since God is good and is Spirit, He is All-in-all. It follows that our trust can properly be placed only in good, or God.

The Christian Science Monitor's Religious Article

When our son was in the military, he was traveling in a vehicle that detonated a land mine. He and another soldier were evacuated by helicopter to a city hospital. The army chaplain contacted us to report that our son was suffering from severe internal injuries and spinal complications. He was to be examined by two medical practitioners and two consulting specialists to determine appropriate treatment.

We were permitted to see our son briefly—he was still in his grimy uniform, having reached the hospital only shortly before we did. Immediately my wife began to comfort our son by speaking to him of the fact that God is Truth and that he was in reality the perfect creation of perfect God. Our son was then wheeled away for examination and medical attention, as required by the Army. We were given a room in which to wait. There we prayed for a clearer spiritual understanding of one perfect God, including His perfect creation, man—unfragmented, harmonious, whole. After some three hours the medical authorities returned to announce that there was absolutely nothing wrong with either of the young soldiers. After a week in the hospital for observation, the young men were granted ten days' leave before rejoining their unit.

When my wife and I and our son turned in prayer to God and our understanding of spiritual reality, healing was the inevitable result. The blast and reported injuries were *not* the facts of the case. Reasoning correctly from the spiritual basis that God is All and is good to the conclusion that man, who is made in God's likeness must accurately reflect the perfection of his creator, we were able to reject as untrue the mortal report of injury. In her book *Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures*, the Discoverer of Christian Science, Mary Baker Eddy, makes two statements that throw light on this healing. In one she points out: "Jesus beheld in Science the perfect man, who appeared to him where sinning mortal man appears to mortals. In this perfect man the Saviour saw God's own likeness, and this correct view of man healed the sick." And in the other she assures us: "The nothingness of nothing is plain; but we need to understand that error *is* nothing, and that its nothingness is not saved, but must be demonstrated in order to prove the somethingness—yea, the allness—of Truth."

Correctly identifying God's perfect man as the only reality dispels the illusion, or fiction, of error and reveals the spiritual facts. The prayer that did this for our son also touched his companion, for, once perceived, truth necessarily blesses all.

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"First the blade, then the ear, then the full grain in the ear."

Down-to-Earth Defenses

AS the Gulf war graphically highlighted, the US military needs a means to defend itself and its allies from ballistic missile attack. Iraq was not unique in its capability to deliver, however inaccurately, warheads to targets hundreds of miles away. Even Bosnian Serbs claim possession of and have threatened to use older models of Soviet-made SCUD medium-range missiles.

That is why the Clinton administration is correct to strengthen the redirection of United States ballistic-missile defense efforts. With much fanfare and little warning to many in his administration, President Reagan in 1983 repackaged and boosted funding for US ballistic-missile defense research, which already was running at about $1 billion a year.

EDITORIALS

Over the next 10 years, the US would spend upward of $30 billion on the Strategic Defense Initiative. Research ran the gamut from hypervelocity rockets and space-based sensors and lasers to complex computer networks designed to manage a titanic battle between Soviet ICBMs and an array of high-tech space- and ground-based weapons.

By 1989, President Bush shifted the program from the more exotic technologies to "Brilliant Pebbles," still space-based, but using projectiles to disable ICBMs while still in their boost phase.

In 1991, Mr. Bush shifted the program's focus yet again, this time to respond to a limited attack rather than an all-out assault.

In its current iteration, the effort is being scaled back and refocused once more. The Ballistic Missile Defense Organization will no longer report directly to the secretary of defense, but to the undersecretary of defense for acquisition and technology.

Unlike other weapons acquisition programs, the BMDO's budget is being cut significantly from Bush's fiscal 1994 request: from $6.3 billion to about $3.8 billion, equal to last year's budget. So-called theater missile defenses would see a $705 million increase over 1993, to $1.8 billion; efforts to develop a nationwide defense would be cut $493 million from '93's level of about $1.7 billion; and research into "Brilliant Pebbles" would continue at $75 million, $145 million less than '93.

Whether Mr. Reagan's pursuit of a sheild for the US was the final economic and technological straw that broke the Soviet Union remains to be determined. Clearly the Soviets took the US effort seriously.

But just as clearly, the strategic picture has changed dramatically. The reoriented Pentagon program represents a good balance between developing the practical and researching what might be feasible.

Laughter & Forgetting

THE final Cheers episode May 20 marks the end of the most popular TV show of the 1980s. Most sitcoms have a shorter life than a June bug. But Cheers captured both a nostalgia for simpler times and the breezy spirit of the era so well it ran for a decade. Its appeal was unprecedented. Some one million people visit the Cheers location on Boston's Beacon Street annually and spend $5 million on memorabilia. The show, whose reruns play three times a day, five days a week, will retire as a classic alongside other signature series such as "Mary Tyler Moore," and "M.A.S.H."

(Though set in a bar, Cheers regrettably never much addressed either the moral or social problems associated with alcohol.)

Cheers was part of the "feel good" times here in Beantown. It played off the "Massachusetts Miracle" and the Larry Bird era in sports. The banter between Sam and Diane got so popular that tourists asked not for Old North Church or Harvard Yard – but "Excuse me, where is Cheers?"

Certainly the ensemble cast worked off brilliant dialogue and unsparing, cheeky humor. It had a sitcom formula: Keep everything light, never let 15 seconds elapse without a laugh, have a happy ending. But that alone doesn't explain it.

Coming out of the "malaise" and self-doubt of the 1970s, Cheers was a place America could believe in again. It redefined a traditional mainstream – a friendly watering hole with real people who, though caught with foibles and weaknesses, ultimately stick together in a semblance of community. Was America more transient and impersonal? Were relationships more difficult to maintain? Come to a place where "everyone knows your name." Just tune in. The world outside may be in chaos. But Norm will be at his corner seat. Sam will flirt. Woody will puzzle. Carla will grouse.

Actually, there is less community in Cheers than meets the eye. Regular guy Norm and postman Cliff are married, but we never see their wives. We almost never see anyone's home. In Cheers, there are few real problems, no sinister characters, no pain or want, and nothing that can't be redeemed with a joke. Of course not: As many who make the pilgrimage to Cheers find out, it isn't a real place.

You May Have Noticed ...

YOU may have noticed some changes in the Monitor recently. Now, a newspaper is self-explanatory; it is its own memorandum. But May starts our new fiscal year; editorially it is a new beginning. And as with our year-ago report to readers, we thought some words on what we're up to may be of interest.

This week we moved our Editorials column inside to Page 18, where you see them. We wanted the Monitor's own observations about the news to be included in the Opinion/Essays section, as it is in most newspapers, instead of standing alone on page 20. Moving the Events column from Page 2 to Page 20 prepares the way for giving Events and our Page 1 stories a later "chase" deadline. The Page 20 space under the cartoon can be used for news features like today's "World from Beijing" column.

RICHARD J. CATTANI

You likely noticed too the evolution this past spring of our new section labels. These replaced the larger block icons. The new crisper-looking labels give editors much greater flexibility in the placement and sizing of stories. We now generally have a two-page spread each for our National, International, and Economy sections in the first half, news section of the paper. This gives these sections equivalent space, allowing focused coverage of government agencies, state policy developments, and economic matters. A Cover Story section, new this week, introduces a series of longer trend and idea-driven stories.

Our international coverage has steadily spread throughout the paper, particularly the Wednesday Monitors, which form the base of our World Edition. We are adding two bureaus shortly, in Seattle and Toronto. The Seattle bureau will give readers coverage of the northwestern United States, western Canada, and the US portion of the Pacific rim; the Toronto bureau will give readers fuller coverage of the industrial crescent that Canada shares with the United States. Added to our Mexico City and US bureaus, the new sites make it possible to consider North America as the unit that its trade, geography, and politics call for.

This week too we started up our new electronic photo desk: We now can receive color news photos almost instantly from around the globe, store them digitally, or send them at story-transmission speed.

On special reports: In the first four months of 1993, the Monitor published nearly 30 special projects – "Resurgent Iran," "Reforming Congress," "The Storm Over the Budget," among them – a record pace.

Riding the national election wave, Washington writers John Dillin, Marshall Ingwerson, Amy Kaslow, and Peter Grier led staffers in the number of Page 1 stories this past year. Also, far more writers, in a broader range of subjects, appeared out front. Moscow writer Dan Sneider wrote the most Page 1 major analytical pieces.

Six questions have been posted for this year: How educationally useful is the Monitor to readers? Are we seeking out larger geographical canvases that help explain world trends? How can we provide varied, appropriate lengths for stories? Is our writing gaining in felicity? Is the presentation clear, bold? Is the Monitor expanding its presence in world and professional thought, where it can have effect?

Such themes drive the changes you see.

■ *Richard J. Cattani is the Monitor's editor.*

Guatemalans and Mexicans Seek Solutions

LETTERS

In the article, "Distrust, Suspicion Mark Return of Guatemalans," May 5, your coverage of the return of Guatemalan refugees is very informative. Having spent time with a Witness for Peace delegation in refugee communities in both Mexico and Guatemala last year I am aware of some of the problems the refugees are facing. May I suggest that the international community is not "being duped into supporting a rebel strategy," as one interviewee suggested, but rather is being urged to respond to the human needs of these people who are living in very trying conditions.

B. C. Houghton *McFarland, Wis.*

Appropriate language

I am happy to see the author of the article "What to Call Those Pushing Political Islam," April 21, recommend using the term "Islamist" for those involved in the current resurgence of Islam in politics. I would like to add some positive reasons for this word choice:

First, this term can be used both by Islamists themselves and by those (Muslim or otherwise) outside their movement. Second, I take the word to be constructed on the analogy of communist or capitalist: an ideological position.

This seems quite accurate. For Islamists, Islam is not only a religion in the narrow sense, and not only a cultural heritage, but also an ideology to guide political and social action in the present.

W. Shepard *Christchurch, New Zealand*
University of Canterbury

Let's be cricket about cricket

In the article, "Losing Just Isn't Cricket," April 21, the author writes, "Long ago, cricket's white-clad players earned the description 'flanneled fools.' " This last phrase quotes Rudyard Kipling expressing his condemnation of those who took part in organized sport while the nation was at war. The term relates to special circumstances, but your correspondent infers that this withering criticism applies to all cricketers.

Jack Ouseley *West Sussex, England*

OPINION/ESSAYS

Broadcasting, Press Play Vital Roles in New Russia

Western support for the Russian media could strengthen democracy

By David Hoffman

THE first line of defense for democracy in Russia is its media. In the power struggle between President Boris Yeltsin, the Congress, and the Constitutional Court, Russia's fourth estate may well play the pivotal role in maintaining a peaceful transition to civil society. Despite numerous attempts by Speaker Ruslan Khasbulatov and President Yeltsin to control it, the mass media in Russia remains relatively impartial.

While Russia's two state broadcasting companies have tended to favor Yeltsin in their reporting, the Russian people receive a fairly accurate representation of the political developments in the country. So long as all ethnic and political groups continue to have access to the news media, civil war can be avoided.

In Serbia, President Slobodan Milosevic has mastered the use of TV the way Hitler had earlier exploited the power of radio to incite fear and hatred of his enemies.

With 65 million former Soviet citizens living outside the boundaries of their national homelands, Russia cannot afford to let the media fall into the hands of any single political faction. In the current crisis of authority, level-headed leaders from all factions should join in defending the independence of the mass media.

Local administrative bodies should do what they can to support the independent commercial stations that have multiplied.

In the political climate that prevails in Moscow, partisan claims to control state television are rampant. Extremists from all sides will attack the state broadcasting centers, as we saw in Vilnius, in Tbilisi, in Bucharest and elsewhere. Unlike in the West, in Russia there is no tradition of press freedoms to insulate the media from this political maelstrom.

Russian television reaches 95 percent of households and is by far the main source of news in the country. The West should help with financial support to reform and improve this information channel. Aid for the media should be offered with the same conditionality that comes with financial support. Freedom of the press, guarantees for media pluralism and independence of the electronic media from partisan politics should be the price of American aid for democratization.

United States policy should stress broadcast pluralism as strongly as we do any other human right. After all, no other human right can be protected if the media is censored. Multichannel television is as important to modern democracy as multiparty elections. Western support for the Russian media could have an immediate impact in strengthening democracy, whereas financial assistance appears to average citizens to be lost in a black hole. No conceivable amount of Western economic aid can rescue Russia's crumbling economy.

Three hundred billion dollars in economic assistance from Germany for the former East German Democratic Republic has not been enough to integrate that homogeneous state; and Russia's needs swamp those of East Germany.

But Western help for the Russian media could effectively bolster the fourth estate to defend its role above the political struggle.

We have witnessed repeated attempts by the Congress and Yeltsin to bring the mass media under their control. The struggle over *Izvestia*; the forced resignation of Yeltsin's minister of information; his return to the Federal Information Center with wide and ambiguous powers; the decree abolishing St. Petersburg television; the firing of Yegor Yakovlev and resignation of Igor Maleshenko, heads of Central Television; and decrees and counter-decrees by the Congress and the president attempting to assert control over state TV, are ongoing battles in the internecine struggle to control the media. Only the ineptitude of political stalemate has left television centers relatively impartial. But the best and brightest TV talent is leaving the state broadcasting companies.

Meanwhile, independent television and radio broadcasters have proliferated throughout the former Soviet Union. There are more than 300 independent broadcast and cable stations operating in Russia today. The center has begun to license these enterprises but they are by no means under the control of Moscow.

The extent of independent television in Russia far exceeds the development of the broadcasting media anywhere else in East Europe. This is a rare asset in Russia's fledgling transformation to civil society. Urgently in need of equipment, training, and Western programming, these independent broadcasters should receive increased Western support to help sustain democracy in the provinces where the future of Russia may well be determined.

IT is important that the West act immediately with promises of help to the Russian media to strengthen its cause. More importantly, Russians across the political spectrum should rally in defense of media independence. Yeltsin's "Decree on Information Stability," if carried out fairly, would create a federal commission for television and radio broadcasting that could act independently to regulate the Russian broadcasting industry as the Federal Communications Commission does in the US.

Local administrative bodies should do what they can to support the independent commercial stations that have multiplied in the vacuum of power after the August 1991 coup. By offering alternatives to the state news broadcasts, these small independent companies help keep the state media honest. Many of them will need Western help to survive the economic crisis.

The existence of these stations ensures against the rise of the kind of virulent nationalism fueled by the monopolization of the media, which we have seen in Yugoslavia.

Press and broadcast freedom is a political right that must be raised to the same level of concern by the West as any other human right. Political, economic, and moral support for Russia's news media will be aid well spent.

■ *David Hoffman is president of Internews, a nonprofit organization that supports the growth of independent media in East Europe and the former Soviet Union.*

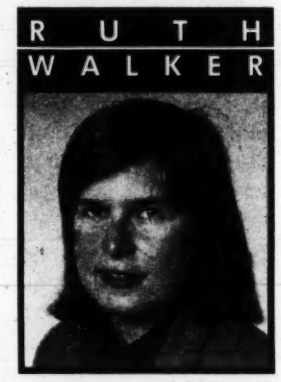
Wilson's Lessons For Clinton

AS the United States and the rest of the West grope toward a policy on Bosnia, the reissue in paperback this month of August Heckscher's masterly work, "Woodrow Wilson: a Biography" provides a useful occasion to consider the parallels between Wilson and President Clinton, and to draw what lessons we can from troubles earlier in this century in the Balkans.

One cannot quite imagine that Wilson, the (self-described) dour Scottish Presbyterian, would ever have been code-named "Elvis" by the Secret Service, as Bill Clinton was during last year's election campaign. But the points of comparison between the two men, personally and politically, are considerable.

For starters, Wilson was as much a policy wonk as Clinton is, relishing the details of government. Wilson was governor of New Jersey and before that president of Princeton University, but, born in Virginia and raised in Georgia and the Carolinas, he was the first Southern president since the 1860s. He was an intellectual president, no less than is Rhodes scholar Clinton; he was a compromiser and a consensus builder, who even as a young man seemed marked for some role in political leadership – although unlike the Boy Governor of Arkansas, he spent considerable time in academia before he got there.

Like Clinton, Wilson was a Democratic president who came into office after his party had spent long years in the political wilderness during a run of Republican exuberance, if not excess. He was expecting to be a domestic-policy president, to make the kind of course correction for the nation that Clinton is seeking to make after the Reagan-Bush years.



History, however, intervened. For Europeans, World War I was the traumatic shock that brought an end to an almost unbroken century of peace across the continent. For Americans, World War I was the event that propelled the US into a role of world leadership.

At the start, it was not a role the US, or Wilson, sought. As Heckscher relates, when war broke out in Europe in August 1914, the president, distracted with the courtship of his second wife, Edith, saw his responsibility as consisting primarily of keeping the US calm in the face of turmoil abroad.

As war raged, the American policy was neutrality, and Wilson focused on getting German agreements to leave American shipping free from submarine attacks. He also worked for a peace conference – to the outrage of the British and French, who felt that this would only ratify German territorial gains, and that Wilson was failing to appreciate the Allies' moral claims.

He ultimately did ask Congress to declare war:

"It is a fearful thing to lead this great peaceful people into war ... but the right is more precious than peace, and we shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts, – for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own governments, for the rights and liberties of small nations, for a universal dominion of right by such a concert of free peoples as shall bring peace and safety to all nations."

What are the lessons of the Wilson years for us today? Surely they must include an appreciation of how *Realpolitik* and the pressures for war can impinge on the noblest idealism of an academic like Wilson. But that idealism cannot be gainsaid, either; that we even use a term like "human rights activist" is due to his legacy.

Ours is the moral idealism of the global village: When the wars and suffering of a people make it into our living rooms via television, we want our governments to act.

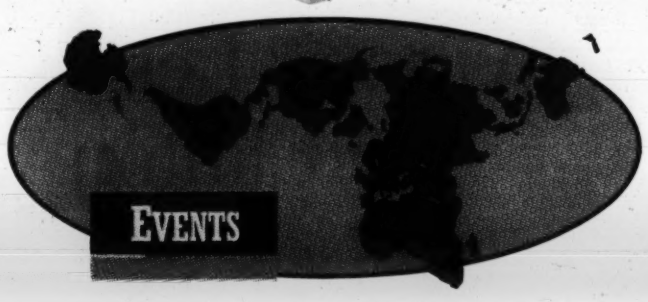
How shall we have our governments act in Bosnia?

The discussion about use of force must move beyond airstrikes vs. ground troops into a clearer articulation of what the goal of the use of this force is or would be.

Heckscher speaks of Wilson's "almost mystical" ability to sense the trend of public opinion; the ability to discuss issues simply and straightforwardly was another great Wilsonian strength.

If there is to be a Western military intervention in Bosnia, the case for it must be made as Wilson made his case to the Congress in 1917.

■ *Ruth Walker is the Monitor's deputy editor.*



US BLOCKS WASTE INCINERATORS

The Clinton administration is looking to reduce airborne chemical pollution by imposing tougher regulations on the nation's hazardous-waste incinerators and temporarily blocking new ones. The Environmental Protection Agency plans to effectively freeze capacity at the current 3 million tons of chemical waste handled by the 184 incinerators each year, said an EPA official who spoke on condition of anonymity. EPA Administrator Carol Browner's goal is to direct producers of chemical waste into recycling and reduce waste production in the future, the official said.

Mine workers strike

The United Mine Workers expanded its strike May 18, calling out 2,000 southern West Virginia miners employed by Arch Mineral Company and Ashland Coal Company to join a weeklong walkout by 2,000 other strikers in Indiana and Illinois. The walkouts at 10 mines in Illinois and Indiana, called to protest coal operators shifting jobs to nonunion subsidiaries, began May 10.

Navy prepares cuts

The Navy is proposing to eliminate 117 combat vessels, 32 submarines, and 125,000 sailors by 1999 in a bid to save enough money so the service can keep its 12 aircraft carriers. The Navy also wants to get rid of its aging A-6 bombers and delay purchases of a costly new attack aircraft. Those are the recommendations of Adm. Frank Kelso, chief of naval operations, to Defense Secretary Les Aspin as work begins on the fiscal year 1995 defense budget.

Jury favors Jeffries

A federal jury May 17 found officials at the City College of New York liable for violating Prof. Leonard Jeffries's free speech rights by removing him as chairman of the black studies department due to a racially charged speech. The Manhattan jury made its finding after reaching a verdict last week that Jeffries – who has made statements considered to be anti-semitic – should get back his job as black studies department chairman. The jury is still considering monetary damages.

Move over, Dan

The network that has had only three anchors in 45 years will have two at the same time come June: Dan Rather and Connie Chung. The surprise announcement from CBS on May 17 marks the first time since Barbara Walters and Harry Reasoner were unhappily paired at ABC in the 1970s that one of the Big Three has made a man and a woman co-anchors of its evening news. Mr. Rather said he welcomed the change.

Japan's trade surplus rises

Japan's politically sensitive trade surplus soared to $10.25 billion in April from $7.11 billion a year earlier, the finance ministry said May 18. Perhaps the most explosive figure of all – the surplus with the United States – climbed to $4.03 billion from $3.29 billion in April 1992. The overall April trade gap, though higher than a year ago, was below the record $13.78 billion surplus posted in March.

Cambodia prepares for vote

As Cambodia prepares for an election May 23-28, Yasushi Akashi, the chief of the United Nations peacekeeping operation, warned May 18 that anyone trying violence or scare tactics could be removed from the ballot. Winston Lord, assistant secretary of state for East Asia and Pacific affairs, was also in Cambodia May 18. He said the US would do what it could to increase the chances of a fair election.

War crimes trial ends

In a case that attracted wide publicity, an Australian jury on May 18 acquitted a 76-year-old immigrant of charges he helped German troops exterminate Jews in Ukraine during World War II. The 12-member jury took less than an hour to reach a verdict in the nine-week trial of Ivan Polyukhovich in South Australian state Supreme Court.

Norway follows Ahab's lead

Norway announced May 18 that it would defy an international whaling ban and hunt 296 minke whales this year, most of them for profit. "Whaling is about more than whales themselves. It is about the rights of a coastal nation to make use of available resources," Foreign Minister Johan Jorgen Holst told Parliament.

– Compiled by Max Boot

Beijing replaces angry rhetoric with efforts to court US businesses' support for favored trade

US Talks, China Listens

By Sheila Tefft
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

BEIJING

CHINA knows clouds are ahead in relations with the US. What Beijing hopes for now is a silver lining.

In the next three weeks, President Clinton, who criticized China during his campaign for human rights abuses, must decide whether to extend China's most favored nation (MFN) trade status for another year.

THE WORLD FROM BEIJING

A Clinton emissary told Beijing May 12 that MFN conditions loom: Renewal will be pegged to an improved Chinese track record in human rights, trade, and arms sale reductions.

Still unknown is how the president will juggle human rights activists' demands for sanctions with US businesses' pleas to preserve access to China's booming market.

Chinese officials hope Clinton will tread carefully and act by executive order. That would take the issue out of congressional hands and hopefully end the yearly tussle over the China's MFN status that began when the Army crushed a peaceful pro-democracy movement in 1989, Chinese and Western analysts believe.

One face-saving move that would buy time for China would be for Clinton to renew China's trade status without conditions this year, but peg next year's extension to progress on human rights, arms control, and trade. Another scenario viewed here as less damaging would be to impose human rights conditions while handling trade and weapons sales separately.

"The US Congress and administration have started to take a relatively realistic approach toward China instead of solely taking the ideological orientation," said an editorial in Shanghai's Liberation Daily, which is considered the mouthpiece of paramount leader Deng Xiaoping. "The Congress and administration have been trying to create a favorable and predictable policy framework for Sino-US trade and will adopt a more flexible policy on the MFN issue," the newspaper said.

China has been on its better behavior recently. Anxious to soothe US critics and impress Olympic officials who will decide whether to locate the 2000 Summer games in Beijing, China has released several prominent dissidents and cut hefty US trade deals.

Even after last week's message that a conditional trade status is likely, Foreign Ministry spokesman Wu Jianmin stopped short of past shrill charges of bullying by Washington and hints that China might impose its own sanctions.

"The US government has not made an official decision on the question of China's MFN status," he said.

Chinese officials and analysts, even some critics of the government, worry that trade limitations imposed by the United States will endanger the first prosperity China has enjoyed in years and trigger new tensions.

Deftly, diplomats say, China is trying to exploit the dilemma facing Clinton. On one hand, the president must respond to outrage over the 1989 massacre of pro-democracy demonstrators, the use of prison labor to make exports, religious persecution, repression in Tibet, and a free-wheeling arms trade.

On the other hand, he faces domestic pressure to boost the sagging economy and US competitiveness overseas. With an eye on reducing its huge trade surplus with the US, Chinese delegations have been criss-crossing the States recently, buying aircraft, cars, fertilizer, and grain.

"The United States is the only country where human rights in China is still an issue," says a Middle Eastern diplomat in Beijing. "But China knows the US must improve its economy and is shrewdly trying to exploit these problems."